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SCIENCE NOTES.
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY 1899.

ART. I.—PASTOR'S POPES OF THE
RENAISSANCE.

The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages.

Drawn from the secret archives of the Vatican and other original sources. From the German of Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR, Professor of History in the University of Innsbruck. Edited by FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, of the Oratory. Volumes V. and VI. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited, Paternoster House, Charing Cross Road. 1898.

IF a philosopher of our day were to set himself to solve the old problem, "How history ought to be written," he would have not a little to add to the laws laid down by Lucian. The fundamental principles, indeed, are still the same; and, in some important points, the olden masterpieces may still serve as models. Yet, in many respects, a higher and severer standard of accuracy is both possible and necessary. The end set before the historian is still what it was in the days of Lucian, the profitable and impartial presentment of the truth. But modern methods enable him to reach it by a surer road, and grasp it more securely.

The chief defects of early works of history are sufficiently obvious. The evidence at the author's command was often scanty, and what there was of it was seldom searched and

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sifted, while doubtful documents, uncertain traditions, and fabulous legends too often found ready acceptance. In later times, a still more baneful influence was exerted by party spirit. And political or religious struggles gave birth to a mongrel species of controversial historians. A great Catholic writer has said that, for the last three hundred years, history has been a conspiracy against the truth. And the hyperbole has certainly some justification. But it is only fair to remember that inaccuracy and partiality were not only to be found on one side; and orthodox historians were sometimes apt to make the worst of their opponents, and gloss over the faults and failings of their own champions.

There was, assuredly, plenty of room for the improvements which have happily been introduced in recent years. Like most changes of the kind, this is largely the result of gradual growth, and many writers of widely different parties may claim their share in the good work. For if Protestant or other non-Catholic authors are conspicuous among the masters of modern scientific history, it should not be forgotten that they owe much to the earlier labours of Catholic scholars like Petavius and the Benedictines of St. Maur. And if the Germans now hold a commanding place in historical studies, it is only fair to remember that Frenchmen were in the field before them.

If we attempt to fix the main elements which make up the modern method of writing history, we shall probably find that they may be conveniently set down under the following three heads: (*a*) The first, which may be called the scientific element, consists in a minute and rigorous examination of all available evidence, in which documents are carefully sorted and sifted, the doubtful and spurious eliminated, and the others only taken according to their just value, due allowance being made for the writer's known bias or possible ignorance. This is sometimes described as the application to historic studies of the methods of the exact sciences. But though the principle is undoubtedly the same in both cases, there is good reason to believe that the method was evolved independently by the labours of critical historians and not imported from some other branch of science. (*b*) The second, which may be called the moral element, consists in a rigid and absolute impartiality. This, indeed, is scarcely separable from the

previous condition; for the scientific testing of evidence must make short work of prejudice and partiality, and bring to light facts which tell now for one side now for another. (c) The third, or as it may be called the philosophic element, consists chiefly in the recognition of the unity of history and of the laws which govern its evolution. No fact is isolated or considered apart from its environment and the circumstances of the time. And the explanation of a great crisis is to be sought, not merely in the acts of individuals, but in the social forces at work in the previous generation.

We have no wish to exaggerate the merits of modern historians, and we are by no means blind to their shortcomings and the dangers which beset them. The best judges of evidence are liable to err; and, in concrete questions of fact, absolute certitude is often impossible. Hence the semblance of scientific exactness and accuracy is sometimes apt to mislead the unwary. And in addition to this, the external apparatus of scientific history may be imitated where real research is wanting. At the same time, even those who endeavour to be impartial may often be unable to free themselves from some unconscious bias which warps their judgment. And the tenets of a philosophical school or some favourite theory of the historian may blind him to the real meaning of the facts as effectually as any old-fashioned form of prejudice or party passion.

Yet, with all due allowance for these defects and dangers, it still remains true that a great advance has been made in historic studies. Fresh light has been thrown on many obscure places. Not a few iniquitous verdicts have been reversed, and tardy justice has been done to the victims of calumny. Much of this good work has been done by outsiders. But here also many Catholic writers are happily conspicuous, as they were formally found among the first pioneers of historic criticism and philosophical history. Such in recent times were Bishop Hefele and Cardinal Hergenröther, whose learned labours need not fear comparison with those of Döllinger and his fellows in an earlier generation. And not the least illustrious in this band of Catholic historians is Dr. Pastor of Innsbruck, whose history of the Popes is now happily brought within the reach of English readers.

Without venturing on the invidious task of comparing the merits of the various writers who have dealt with this important subject, we may yet regard the present work as the most valuable contribution to this branch of Church history. For historic science is progressive, and Dr. Pastor has the advantage of its latest improvements. He can build further on the foundations laid by those who have laboured before him. And, what is more, he has had access to many important documents in the secret archives of the Vatican, which the Holy Father has lately opened to students of history.

Happily, Dr. Pastor was a man well fitted to avail himself of these advantages, and seize the opportunity for throwing fresh light on the pages of Church history. Other writers of greater original genius have before now given themselves to this labour. But there are few who surpass him in those humbler and more necessary qualifications of the true historian—patient industry in seeking and sifting evidence, rigid impartiality, and a just and well-balanced judgment. Readers of his earlier volumes are already acquainted with these qualities, which can only be properly appreciated by those who have read his pages. But we may perhaps give our readers some notion of the labour spent on the present volumes, by briefly noting the following facts. At the outset, the author gives us a list of the printed books which have been largely used in the compilation of the present two volumes, and the mere list of titles fills some thirty-five pages. The books or other publications number 674, ranging from brief papers and essays to recondite and voluminous works. The titles, which are left untranslated, are in German, Latin, French, English, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, and Hungarian. One of the earliest items is a reference to two articles by Lord Acton, published nearly thirty years since in the *North British Review*. But long as the list is, it does not contain all the books or periodicals cited in the present volumes.

And beyond this extensive use of printed literature, there remains the yet more laborious and important study of manuscripts. Readers of the English version will meet with frequent references to unpublished documents, and numerous extracts from these manuscript sources are printed in the appendix at the end of each volume. But in order to give

our readers a better notion of the extent of the author's labours, we must refer to the tabular summary of MSS. codices, which is printed in the beginning of the German third volume. Here we find that in the composition of this volume—which corresponds to the present fifth and sixth volumes of the English translation—Dr. Pastor made use of no less than 841 manuscript codices, scattered through some seventy-seven archives and libraries in different parts of Europe. Some of these archives had not been accessible to earlier scholars. But even where other writers had been admitted to use the same sources before him, our author's industry could sometimes draw fresh light from neglected manuscripts. Thus Gregorovius says that he found it impossible to "pick out the despatches of the Milanese orators, which no doubt contain many valuable bits of information, from the mass of unclassified bundles of papers in which they are at present buried." But Dr. Pastor says, on the other hand, "I found myself amply rewarded for the labour of hunting through these documents by the treasures which I found in them."* Were it only for this reason, the present volumes would have a high value for all serious students of history.

Yet this is by no means the sole merit of Dr. Pastor's volumes. A writer might display the same diligence, and work his way through a similar wilderness of documents, without having the judgment to make a selection or the insight to see their significance. And he might thus fail to paint an intelligible picture. Happily, this is not the case with Dr. Pastor. His skill in selecting and arranging his evidence is in nowise inferior to the industry which has brought it together. His wealth of material does not lead him to overcrowd his pages. And, though his references and quotations are naturally numerous, they keep their appropriate place, and do not disturb the current of the story. He sees that scientific accuracy and documentary evidence need not prevent a history from being clear and readable. And while his book is a storehouse of learning for serious students, it is at the same time sufficiently intelligible to the general reader.

* Vol. v. pref. p. viii.

All this is not less true of the present English version. And the editor and translator may well be congratulated on the manner in which they have executed a task beset with many difficulties. Those who compare their version with the German text must allow that Dr. Pastor's work has been faithfully presented to English readers. The best translation is, generally speaking, one which combines the greatest appearance of being an original work with the smallest measure of originality. The book before us fulfils the first condition, for it does not read like a translation. On the other hand, it would, indeed, have been possible to keep more closely to the text; but, on the whole, a greater degree of literalness in the present instance would be likely to prove a distinct disadvantage. The editor has done well to divide each bulky German book into two English volumes. The change perhaps presents some analogy to the free style of the translation, for the one tends to lighten the text and the other the volume.

A careful scrutiny of a work of this character can hardly fail to reveal a few misprints or minor inaccuracies, most of which will no doubt disappear in later editions. In the German volume (first and second edition) we are given a list of corrections, some of which have apparently escaped the notice of the translator. One curious mistake, which was not "made in Germany," is repeated in the index. Dr. Pastor mentions a picture painted by Mantegna for the Marquess of Mantua after the victory won at Fornuovo. By a singular slip the translator mixes the artist's name with the patron's title, which thus becomes "the Mantuan Marquess of Mantegna." And in the index we have two entries under the name Mantegna, one for this imaginary Marquess, the other for the artist of that name. A glance at the German index, which refers this very passage to Andrea Mantegna, would have sufficed to correct the mistake. Strictly speaking, this is an error in a matter of fact rather than a mistranslation, for the German sentence, taken by itself, would also bear the other meaning. And the trivial nature of the only slips which have been noticed by the critics certainly speaks well for the general accuracy of these volumes.

Thus much may be said in recognition of the industrious labours of the German historian and his English interpreters,

but it is now time to turn our attention to the eventful period which forms the subject of their history. This is, indeed, the first thought of Dr. Pastor's readers. The author's personality, his style and method, or the merits of his translator, are forgotten in the absorbing interest of the pictures unfolded before us. The reader's mind is arrested by the great figures of Savonarola and Pope Julius II., and he seeks to form some judgment on their actions, or he ponders on the problem presented by the movement of the Renaissance, and strives to understand its meaning.

There is perhaps no period in the history of the Church which has more need of the search-light of scientific study, and the balanced and impartial judgment of a true philosophic historian. For it is in this age, and notably in that portion which is treated in the books before us, that we must seek for the causes of the subsequent revolution in religion. And, naturally enough, the true issue has long been obscured by the dust of controversy. Protestant admirers of Luther have included this period in the general condemnation passed on the pre-Reformation ages, or have seen in it that proverbial deeper darkness which comes before the dawn. Catholics, on the other hand, being keenly alive to the havoc wrought by the Reformers, have sometimes been too much occupied in exposing and refuting them to give sufficient attention to the previously existing evils. But of late years, at any rate, we have learnt to look further back, and find some explanation of the rise and progress of Protestantism in the weakening effects of the Western schism, in the theories of the Conciliar theologians, in the prolonged struggles between Church and State, in the relaxation of discipline, in the scandal given by negligent and worldly prelates; and more especially in the corruption spread abroad by the pagan Renaissance.

It is true we have not had to wait for modern critical writers to recognise and reveal these elementary factors of the problem. However much passed over, or forgotten, in pious or controversial writings, the existence of grave evils and the need of real reform are writ large in the acts of the Council of Trent, or in the lives and works of men like St. Charles Borromeo. Still, the labours of recent historians, the publication of many important documents, and the large literature dealing with the

Renaissance in its various aspects, have all helped to give greater prominence to this period. And to some readers, shocked and startled by the glaring evils of the age, the whole may possibly appear a dark and painful picture of corruption, so that they are fain to turn away with loathing from the pages of Renaissance history, and rest their eyes on some happier epoch—on the mediæval ages of faith, or the Church of the early Fathers; on the hopes and triumphs of the Catholic counter-Reformation, or the religious revival of our own century.

Possibly, those who take this gloomy view of the Renaissance period may be thought to find some confirmation of their pessimism in Dr. Pastor's pages. For his fearless pen lays bare many dark and painful scandals. And he ruthlessly dispels the illusion of those who, knowing that much in the current notion of characters like the Borgias was the result of calumny and exaggeration, had fondly hoped that most of the remaining charges would prove equally fabulous.

But this reading of the present work would surely be strangely one-sided and consequently misleading. For it takes advantage of the author's candour and impartiality, while it makes no account of the broad philosophic spirit which has enabled him to seize the true meaning of the history as a whole, and paint it fairly with all its lights and shadows. Yet this is, after all, the main merit of Dr. Pastor's labours. And, in truth, this luminous insight and well-balanced judgment are specially needed in treating this period of history. In spite of all the documentary evidence, and the multitudinous works of recent writers—or rather for this very reason—there is a great danger of pessimistic exaggeration. We all know how in the full tide of the classic revival the art and philosophy of the Middle Ages were unduly disparaged, and far too great importance was attached to humanist scholarship. But since those days the world has passed through another mental revolution; the true merits of the mediæval period are now better appreciated. And in the natural revulsion of feeling we may lose sight of the danger of doing a like injustice to the men of the Renaissance. At the same time, the strange and startling crimes of some of the foremost figures of that age arrest the reader's attention, and the unwary student may fall into the

fallacy suggested by Sinon, "*crimine ab uno, disce omnes.*" And the natural tendency to uniformity and generalisation is further aided by the fascination of a theory which serves to explain so much that followed in the next generation.

Let us not be misunderstood. We are far indeed from denying the great and grievous evils of the Renaissance age. And we should be the last to belittle the glories of the early Church, of the great mediæval popes and schoolmen, or of that later age which was brightened by the labours of the Catholic reformers. Nor could any serious student of history dream of denying the distinctive differences of these various periods. Yet we venture to say—and that not only on grounds of Catholic orthodoxy, but from the standpoint of philosophic history—that the contrast is by no means so glaring as it is too commonly painted. For instead of comparing the different ages as they really were, we are often content to take some prominent figures in each instance and make a hasty and one-sided generalisation. Thus, the first centuries are the era of the Fathers. Athanasius and Basil and the Gregories are taken as types, and lend a lustre to their contemporaries. So again, the Middle Ages are measured by St. Bernard, St. Louis and St. Thomas Aquinas. And on the other hand, the unfortunate Renaissance period is regarded as the age of Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia, of Malatesta and Machiavelli. Worldly popes and prelates, tyrants and cynical humanists are somehow suffered to pass as types of a whole generation.

This comparison is, surely, as unfair and one-sided as the contrary method adopted by those who made the Renaissance the first beginning of light and intellectual culture, and disparaged the Middle Ages as an epoch of darkness and barbarism. A generalisation which leaves out all the light in one picture and all the shadows in the other can serve no useful purpose. Fervid idealists may paint a glowing vision of some golden age in the past or future, and minds of another mould may dwell with satisfaction on the peculiar merits of their own enlightened days. But a sober study of facts and a knowledge of our nature might teach us that, differ as they may in other matters, in one thing all ages are very much alike, in having a large admixture of good and evil. If the story here unfolded contains much that is painful reading, the student who knows

the history of the ancient and mediæval Church will remember that there are some dark spots on its brightest pages. Sin and scandal and worldliness were never wanting. And passages in the works of the Fathers and later Christian writers will often rise in the memory as we read these records of the crimes of the Renaissance or hear the indignant denunciations of its preachers and prophets.

But if the enthusiasts are thus tempted to idealise their picture of the earlier ages and irradiate them with a light not their own, the gloomy view which blackens the days of the Renaissance is equally the result of a pessimistic idealism. It is doubtless true that the circumstances of that age of transition, such as the weakening of authority and the intoxication of the new learning, did indeed give a fresh impetus and a larger licence to existing evils, allowing them to spread further afield and to produce more fatal results. Yet, even without the help of documentary evidence, or the light which comes of faith in the continued preservation of the Church, One Catholic and Holy, from pure grounds of reason and from the analogy of other ages, we might be sure that much good existed in the midst of all this evil. And if the corruption of the age helps to account for the troubles that followed in the subsequent religious revolution, the good work achieved in the counter-reformation seems to postulate some foundation in the preceding period. On this point, at any rate, the philosophy of history and the teaching of Catholic theology are happily in unison. The roots of Tridentine reform, no less than those of Lutheran revolution, must be sought in the Church of the Renaissance.

But on this question we are no longer left to arguments from analogy, or to the calculation of probabilities; for the brighter side of this perplexing period is now fully set before us. Dr. Pastor, as our readers are already aware, is by no means an optimist in this matter. With firm and fearless hand he sets aside all attempts to explain away awkward facts, and whitewash doubtful characters. And his candour and courage are no mean merits. But with this he combines another virtue equally necessary to the historian, and even more rare. He endeavours to give us the whole picture, with the good and evil, the light and the darkness, duly balanced

and blended together. We had a taste of this quality in the first volume of this history, where he showed the mixed nature of the Renaissance movement, and told of the good work achieved by the popes at Avignon in the days which are so often decried as the Babylonian captivity. And now, in the books before us, he has done the same good service for the later and culminating stage of the Renaissance, and for the Papacy in those critical years which passed between the election of Innocent VIII. and the death of Julius II.

The fifth volume, like the first, opens with a lengthy introduction, which fills some 226 pages in the present translation. Here, before entering on the troublous reigns of Innocent VIII., Alexander VI. and Julius II., Dr. Pastor takes a general survey of the whole period, setting forth its main features, whether good or evil. This offers a wholesome correction to the false impressions which are only too likely to be left by some of the strange and startling facts recorded in the subsequent chapters.

It would carry us too far to attempt anything like a complete account of this valuable essay, which is a clear and well-balanced judgment based on a careful scrutiny of all the available evidence. And we must be content to touch briefly on a few of the more important points. If we seem to dwell chiefly on the brighter features, this is certainly not from any overweening optimism or from any wish to conceal or gloss over the less pleasing portions. But the darker side of the picture must already be familiar to our readers, as it has been so prominently and persistently presented in recent publications. And it is therefore necessary to lay more stress on that brighter aspect of the Renaissance movement, which has hitherto been comparatively neglected.

The less hopeful view is largely due, as we have seen, to the prominence of several notorious characters, who have given a bad name to the whole period. For this reason it is well to be reminded that the same age was rendered illustrious by not a few great figures equally conspicuous for their holiness. Accordingly the author takes care to tell us something of the saints of the Renaissance.

Even in saints the Renaissance period was richer than is commonly supposed. The following list, arranged according to the date of death,

may, though incomplete, give the reader some idea of the glorious band of saints and beati, the study of whose lives is a revelation of that Christian Italy of the Renaissance which has so long lain hidden under its more prominent heathen aspect (pp. 85-86).

These words are followed by a list of some eighty-eight Italian saints who died between the years 1400 and 1520. In this respect, at any rate, the ecclesiastical note of holiness was sufficiently manifest.

This fact may well afford some consolation. But it must not be forgotten that high excellence in individuals may be found along with widespread evil and corruption. And though this galaxy of Renaissance saints is, at any rate, something to set off against the conspicuous criminals, taken by itself it would hardly say much as to the general condition of the period.

It was the custom at one time, from a mistaken notion of the dignity of history, to give too much attention to kings, and consuls, and other leaders. And one of the happiest improvements introduced into modern history, is the greater interest which is now taken in the common people, their domestic life, their habits and education, and their social conditions. The historian no longer confines his attention to royal proclamations, declarations of war, or treaties of peace and alliance between the nations. He turns aside to study more human documents, stray private letters of the past, wills, diaries, popular songs—anything that can serve to throw light on the general life of the people. It is in sources such as these, whether still in manuscript or printed by earlier labourers in the same field, that Dr. Pastor has found ample matter for an instructive and pleasing picture of the religious condition of the people in the Renaissance period. As he says in opening this portion of his introductory essay :

Throughout the Middle Ages a deep conviction of the truth of religion was a fundamental characteristic of the Italian nation; and in many circles this was maintained through the dangerous period of transition and into the fifteenth century. The salutary influence of the Church, in spite of the corruption of some of its members, made itself felt in every department of society. A glance at the family life of this period shows at once how much that was good and estimable still held its ground, through all the storms of the time and the ferment of the Renaissance (p. 11).

In the same place, the author shows us one sure source of domestic purity and piety in the happy influence of Christian mothers :

Noble and capable women, whose portraits lend a singular grace to the frescoes of the Florentine painters of that day, kept guard over the religion and morals of the household.

In proof of this he appeals to the contemporary testimony of Vespasiano da Bisticci and Jacopo da Bergamo, and to the private correspondence of the time, which has happily come down to us. And he quotes some charming passages from the letters of a noble Florentine mother to her son. As piety sometimes lingers with the devout female sex, when the men are given to worldliness and unbelief, it is satisfactory to find that here religious-minded men were by no means wanting. "Piety of this stamp was not confined to women, but is equally to be found in many men of all ranks" (p. 13). As instances of this, the author mentions two eminent Florentines, the merchant Francesco Datini and the poet Feo Belcari. And he gives a letter on humility which the latter wrote to his daughter. Further evidence on this subject is found in the numerous family note-books preserved in Florence. And we have the following pleasing account of one in which Giovanni Morelli, writing in the early years of the fifteenth century, tells the story of his own life for the benefit of his son :

The narrative reveals a model Christian father whose solicitude for the welfare of his children, both temporal and spiritual, begins with early infancy and follows them throughout their lives, and even beyond the grave. We may fairly consider that the great majority of Florentine families were brought up in this sound and truly Christian spirit. In spite of all its aberrations the age of the Renaissance was an age of faith and of genuine piety (pp. 15-16).

Besides these pleasing personal pictures, we are given various interesting proofs of popular piety, such as the numerous editions of the New Testament, and of spiritual works like the "*Fioretti di S. Francesco*," which were issued from the press during this period. The presence of a liturgical spirit in the people is also shown by the popularity of books explaining the Church ceremonies. One of these, the "*Lucidarius*," was "read from Vesuvius to Hecla," and no less than seven

Italian editions had appeared before the year 1500 (p. 22). As another proof of the widespread influence of religion, we are told elsewhere that :

No house was without a crucifix or pious picture, more especially one of the Blessed Virgin, before which a lamp was kept burning ; nearly all the larger houses contained a small chapel (p. 21).

A pleasing instance of popular piety, and at the same time a proof of the author's painstaking industry, may be seen in his interesting remarks on the wills drawn up in this period. Besides citing some forms which have been published by others, he gives us several specimens drawn from the State archives at Venice (pp. 23-4).

All this might suffice to show that some care must have been bestowed on the instruction of the people, and particularly on the religious education of children. But on this last point our author brings further evidence from the important work on the government of the family, written at this time by B. Giovanni Dominici. From this book, Dr. Pastor cites some passages which give a singularly beautiful picture of the Christian family, and the reverence which the children should render to their parents (pp. 25-8).

In the same way good use is made of the popular manuals on Confession, which throw no little light on the practical teaching and advice which was given to penitents in that age. After speaking of the various questions contained in such works as the "Confessionale" of St. Antoninus, Dr. Pastor observes :

No class was too insignificant to claim the maternal care of the Church ; we see what a zealous watch was maintained over the lives of the people, and how lovingly she strove to meet and counteract the failings and frailties of all classes (pp. 34-5).

A further striking proof of the pervading influence of the religious spirit is found in the numerous trade guilds, which played such an important part in the social life of the fifteenth century. In illustration of this, the author brings together some interesting evidence concerning their objects, and their various rules and customs, and traces their beneficent influence to its true source :

It was the influence of this spirit of solid piety which pervaded the guilds in Rome and in all the other Italian cities, which created and preserved among the working-classes those sentiments of fraternal charity and mutual goodwill, and that lofty sense of honour and probity which we find expressed in their statutes (p. 36).

From the guilds, Dr. Pastor naturally passes to the kindred topic of the confraternities; and he dwells on their great and growing number. Some of them were already of considerable antiquity, others were fresh creations of the fifteenth century, which was, we are told, singularly fruitful in these associations. Due mention is also made of the various Third Orders which were widely spread throughout Italy at this time. And the Brethren of the Misericordia are cited as a striking instance of the stability of pious societies :

For no less than 500 years the name of the Misericordia has been held in grateful veneration throughout Tuscany. Modelled on the old republican constitution, the brotherhood has remained true to its principles and its offices, undisturbed by social or political changes, from the days of Dante to the present hour (pp. 59-60).

In all this we have ample evidence that the faith still lived and flourished in spite of scandalous clerics or pagan humanists. Not only were the doctrines of the Church still believed—this indeed was the case even with many of the worst characters of the time, as appears in some notable instances of death-bed repentance—but in all that we have seen there are plain tokens of a religion that was living and fruitful. The guilds and confraternities, fed on faith, kept alive a spirit of charity, lightening labour, and binding society together in a time of trouble and disruption. By their rules the members of the guilds were bound to give help to the sick and suffering. And the various confraternities, as Dr. Pastor shows, had a like happy influence. As he says in his account of the aforesaid Misericordia :

But in their care for the dead they did not forget the living. They practised all the seven acts of mercy so graphically illustrated by a contemporary artist in the terra-cotta bas-reliefs on the celebrated Ospedale del Ceppo at Pistoja (p. 60).

Nor were these good works confined to the guilds and confraternities. For the same spirit which breathed in them

found other channels. Much was done at this time for the relief of the poor, while the sick were sheltered and succoured in the numerous hospitals and asylums. On this last point, the author appeals to the testimony of Luther and his foremost opponent.

The same lively spirit of faith is also seen working in various other forms, such as the fervent observance of the Jubilee in the years 1450, 1475, and 1500, or the public prayers and processions on the occasion of earthquakes and other calamities. It is manifested again in the deep trust which the people had in sacraments, in their reverence for the saints, in their veneration of relics, and especially in their devotion to the Blessed Virgin. And turning to the source and centre of all spiritual life, we find a deep love and worship of the Blessed Eucharist manifested in the private prayers of the people, and in the solemn public processions.

The ardent veneration for the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, expressed in these gorgeous Corpus Domini processions, is one of the most consoling features of those times (p. 95).

Attention is also drawn to the devout spirit shown in the popular prayers said at night and morning, and before approaching the sacraments. For these the author refers to the "*Opera a ben vivere*," a work which is ascribed to St. Antoninus. English readers will be gratified to learn that

the meditation of the Venerable Bede on the seven last words of Our Lord had been translated into Italian and was very popular, particularly in Tuscany (p. 96).

Pilgrimages, again, furnish fresh evidence of the popular devotion. And we are told how the people were attracted to many favourite sanctuaries, some of which were already ancient, while others were of recent origin. Among the latter, Dr. Pastor mentions the Monte Sacro of Varallo, which has a conspicuous place in the life of St. Charles Borromeo. This devotion, which was first instituted in 1491, is a pleasing proof of the connection between the spiritual life of the Renaissance period and the zeal which inspired the leaders of the Catholic reformation.

All this certainly serves to show that in the midst of the

Renaissance, and in spite of the classic revival and the unhappy conduct of some priests and prelates, there was still a large leaven of true Catholic faith and piety in the Italy of the fifteenth century. And this would be some consolation, even if the Renaissance itself had been but a pagan revival, and the ruling clergy had been as black as they were painted by contemporary calumny. But it would be a strange misreading of the account contained in Dr. Pastor's pages to suppose that the good was thus confined to those who were beyond the reach of the classics, or to those who sternly stood aloof from the movement and resisted its influence. From the outset, not only of these volumes, but from the first pages of his history, Dr. Pastor has laboured to make it clear that, in spite of the excesses of many of its votaries, the Renaissance itself was largely a Catholic and Christian movement, or that, in his own words, there was a true as well as a false Renaissance. No one, indeed, could deny that there is much that is noble and elevating in ancient art and literature. And even those later writers, who deal most severely with the fifteenth century humanists, gladly avail themselves of the new learning which owes so much to their labours, and use it rightly for the support or the adornment of religion. But it is too little known, or too often forgotten, that even among the first pioneers of the movement, or among those in whose hands it reached its culmination, there were many men who knew how to make this wise and rightful use of ancient art and letters, men in whose hearts love of religion and love of learning reigned together and worked in unison. And it is the special merit of Dr. Pastor's history of the Popes, that he, at any rate, has left his readers in no doubt on this matter. His account of the good work done by the guilds, his description of the family life, and the faith and piety of the people—all these have their value. But in the face of certain erroneous notions prevailing at the present day, it may seem to some that the most important part of his picture of the period is that in which he sets before us those true Catholic scholars, who bore their part in the classic revival.

Some may have felt this already when the pages of his opening volume were brightened by the fascinating figure of Vittorino da Feltre. And now, in the books before us, our

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author gives us further evidence, and shows that, as the movement proceeded, this type of the Christian scholar was not suffered to perish. We are told that the influence of Vittorino's college at Mantua was immense and widely diffused. Hence, though he left no writings, his good work survived him. Dr. Pastor considers that Agostino Dati, of Siena, who died in 1479, was scarcely inferior to Vittorino. And he pays a passing tribute to Antonio Ivani and Francesco Barbaro, who have both left us works on education. A more important treatise on this subject, that by Maffeo Vegio, the friend of Pius II., may seem to belong to the earlier part of the century; but as it was first printed in 1491, it serves to illustrate the spirit still at work in the later stages of the movement.

Special interest attaches to the question of the education of women, which then, as in more recent years, attracted considerable attention. And there was already at that early date a movement towards emancipation, which was attended by many dangers. But it is satisfactory to find that here as elsewhere, "there were many who perfectly succeeded in harmonising the new tendencies with the eternal principles of the Christian religion" (pp. 31-2).

In some respects the men of the Renaissance were more advanced than many modern educationalists. For we are told that

Castiglione lays down as a fundamental principle that the education of a lady in the higher circles should be such as to place her intellectually on a level with her husband (p. 32).

Nor is it only in scholarship and literature that the Renaissance movement is thus shown to have had a brighter side. For the achievements of the Christian scholars are worthily matched by the work of the Christian artists. There is doubtless a profound truth in Mr. Ruskin's forcible contrast between Mediævalism and Modernism in art. And though we may differ as to the precise moment of the transition, it may be allowed that the profane character, which he discerns in the latter, had its origin in this movement of the fifteenth century, and was due, at least in part, to the influence of pagan art and letters. Bearing this in mind, we can hardly wonder if many of those who have learnt to love the glorious art of the

Middle Ages should be led to look upon the changes wrought in the Renaissance as nothing more than the corrupting effects of paganism. But this is, none the less, an unfair and one-sided judgment. For if some of the Renaissance artists were moved by a profane and pagan spirit, and if even among those who treated sacred subjects there were not a few lamentable excesses and errors of taste, there was still a noble band of labourers, who spent their high powers in the service of religion, and left behind them many an enduring monument of classic art and Catholic piety.

As Dr. Pastor well says, on the architecture of this period :

The spirit in which the buildings were conceived is the only measure by which they can be judged. The historian of art may indeed find it difficult to forget the world which produced the antique models, and to regard the architecture of the Renaissance solely in the light of the faith which inspired it, but it was in this light that the age interpreted its own work, and thus only can it be correctly estimated. Thus, many of the critics of the art of the Renaissance, failing to recognise this fusion of the religious with the æsthetic point of view, are wholly at fault in their judgment of it. Christian art strove to inspire the antique forms, to express Christian ideas in classic shapes, and permeate them with the Christian civilisation of the day (p. 69).

And rightly regarding the numerous churches and other monuments of religious art as a proof that the majority of the nation were still devoted to the faith, Dr. Pastor gives us a comprehensive list of the chief works of this kind produced in the fifteenth century.

In the labours of these Christian scholars and artists, and in the wise bounty of the princes and prelates who lent them their patronage, our author recognises what he calls the true Renaissance—a movement healthy, hopeful and productive of much good in art and learning and religion. By the false Renaissance, on the other hand, he understands that darker side of the classic revival, which is seen in those who adopted the naturalism and the pagan spirit of the ancients, along with the grace and beauty of their art and literature. At first sight it might seem that, admitting the justice of this distinction between these two opposite sides of the movement, the epithets true and false are open to some objection. Thoroughgoing votaries of antiquity might claim that the pagan side was the original and true

revival, while the other was a modified and spurious version ; but to those who look deeper into the matter Dr. Pastor's nomenclature will seem specially appropriate. For the un-Christian humanism, besides being hurtful to morals and to sound religion, was in itself something essentially false and unreal. There was much in Greek art and literature that was good and true, much of which the Middle Ages with all their merits knew but little, and were thereby the poorer. And when these ancient treasures made their way into the West they came upon the world of European thought, its art and literature and education, with the quickening breath of a new inspiration. Wherever some deep truth of philosophy, or some high principle of art, was once more recognised and put into practice, it may be said, without any disparagement of earlier excellence in other directions, that in this at least there was a real new birth or renaissance. But it was far otherwise when an attempt was made to bring back the errors and superstitions, the sins and follies of the Greeks, or anything in pagan antiquity which the world had long since outgrown. These things were dead indeed, and had no power to communicate life, but only brought death and corruption where they came. Thus, the one movement added a new stage to mental and artistic progress, building on what had been gained already. The other was a false move, rejecting living truth and attempting to resuscitate a dead past. It was in conflict with that progress which is the law of life. And though it might seem to triumph for a time, its works were doomed to perish.

Let us add a word of warning against a possible misconception of this twofold aspect of the Renaissance. When Dr. Pastor treats the two separately, and dwells on the contrast between them, when he takes some men as types of the Christian scholars who led the one movement, and some as types of the pagan humanists who led the other, the reader is perhaps in some danger of carrying this important distinction a step too far, and supposing that there were two sharply defined, mutually hostile and contrasted parties, the one all good, the other all evil. And in the abstract, no doubt, we can clearly separate the two ideals which were contending for mastery in the mind of that age, one that of adopting the truth that was in antiquity and grafting it on to the existing system, the other that of

bringing back the naturalism and paganism of the ancients. But in the concrete, and in the real actual world, neither of them was ever fully realised or separated from the other. The men who are taken as types of the two classes of humanists lived and moved in the same society, fired with a kindred zeal for the self-same studies, and most, if not all of them, bear upon them some marks of the movement in both its aspects. Here, as elsewhere, the good and the evil are strangely blended together. Sometimes a scholar like the great Giovanni Pico della Mirandola seems to be carried towards dangerous doctrines by the fascinations of philosophy and the fire of youthful ambition. But, when checked in his course by the voice of authority, his heart is touched, and he becomes a zealous champion of the truth, and devotes his closing years to deeds of piety. A somewhat similar change may be seen in the eminent Florentine Platonist, Marsiglio Ficino. And along with these leaders of thought, we may be sure there were many of the lesser lights who showed greater inconsistency and took a more devious course, men who were Catholic at heart, and sought to turn classic art and letters to a good use, but were often led into error by excessive devotion to antiquity, or tarnished by some touch of the prevailing corruption.

So, again, on the other side, it would be a mistake to suppose that those who are taken to represent the false Renaissance were altogether evil. There is, indeed, only too much evidence of the existence of gross vice and corruption. And here, as in the more pleasing task of showing the brighter aspect of the movement, Dr. Pastor is able to make good his words by appealing to authentic documents. He can point to the profane or licentious works of some of the humanists, and in one conspicuous instance he has been able to consult some yet more damaging private letters, which are not, indeed, susceptible of publication. Even the most pronounced admirers of the scholars of the Renaissance might well shrink from attempting their defence in the face of the evidence adduced against them. Yet we cannot but feel that when this painful subject is considered by itself, and set over against the good deeds of those on the other side, there is some little danger of exaggeration and pessimism. It is well to remember that the worst facts have often been put on record because of their extraordinary

character; that the private lives of authors are sometimes better than their writings would seem to imply; that the confidential documents only affect a comparatively narrow circle; and that the charges of contemporary satirists must be taken *cum grano salis*. Nor can we forget that with all their faults, even the misguided humanists had their merits, and rendered some service to literature.

Before we leave this topic, it may be well to add a further reservation. Even when the evil has been, as far as may be, reduced to its true measure, it must be remembered that the whole of it cannot fairly be ascribed to the Renaissance. If every classic work, and every monument of antiquity had perished from the face of the earth, there would still have been some vice and profanity in the Italy of the fifteenth century. And as we have seen, there were other special causes besides the revival of learning to swell the tide of corruption. It was doubtless due, in some degree, to the Greek classics that some of the worst evils gained ground, and deeds which had else been done in the dark were openly paraded. But we venture to think that here, as in its brighter aspect, far too much has been ascribed to the influence of the classic revival.

It is time to turn our attention to the Popes of the Renaissance themselves, or rather to those of their number whose reigns are treated in the two volumes before us. Not, indeed, that we have hitherto left them out of sight, for much of what has been said so far applies, in a measure, to their work and characters. They were in most instances men of their age, closely in touch with its main movement and subject to its influence, whether for good or for evil. Their lives can only be read aright when the age in which they lived is properly understood. And for this reason they have been among the first to suffer from false conceptions of Renaissance paganism and corruption. Open in some instances to grave reproach, their memory has been blackened by a cloud of calumny. And even a perfectly innocent man like Pope Pius III. has been made the victim of groundless charges. On the other hand, even that one who is most justly subject to reproach has found apologists in recent years, and attempts have been made to rehabilitate his character, and acquit him of all the graver accusations brought against him.

Here, once more, Dr. Pastor plays the part of the true historian. As he has painted a fair and faithful picture of the age, with all its mingled lights and shadows, so now does he show us the Popes of the Renaissance as they really were, not as they appear when idealised by apologists or blackened by their traducers. And as we found that the fifteenth century, with all its manifold evils, was none the less marked by many brighter features and token of genuine faith and piety, so is it with the reigns of the Pontiffs. If new orders, and confraternities, and charitable institutions are founded, if zealous preachers go about rousing sinners to repentance, if missionaries are sent forth to preach the faith in the new Western world, if the treasures of ancient art and literature are used for the service of religion and the advancement of true Christian culture, the Popes are found bearing their part in all these good works. We see them acting as princely patrons to Christian artists and scholars, or lending new religious foundations their support and sanction, encouraging missionary work among the heathen in Africa and America, or mediating between Christian princes and endeavouring to unite them against the encroaching power of the Sultan.

Thus Innocent VIII., the first of the Popes whose reigns are treated in these volumes, is found approving the Florentine Confraternity of the Misericordia, and encouraging the Rosary Sodalities by special indulgences. And his work as a patron of art and scholarship fills many of Dr. Pastor's pages. It is interesting to note that it was his authority that checked the aberrations of Pico della Mirandola, and thus contributed to the spiritual conversion of that illustrious scholar. And when Angelo Poliziano came to Rome with the Florentine embassy of Obedience, the Pope commanded him to translate some of the Greek writers of Roman history, and subsequently rewarded him for the version of Herodian which was written in obedience to this command.

At the same time, in spite of his continued illness and the still more afflicting troubles which he suffered from the hostility of Naples and other Christian powers, Pope Innocent long laboured to bring about a new crusade, and for some time at any rate he was able to hold the Turks in check, by means of the Sultan's brother, Prince Dschem, who was kept a prisoner

in Rome. The strange story of this Turkish Prince and the important part he played in that early stage of the eternal Eastern Question, forms one of the most curious and interesting episodes in the history. It was at one time proposed that the Christian Powers should combine to place him on the Turkish throne on the understanding that he would then lead his people back to Asia.

Innocent VIII. is somewhat overshadowed by the more striking personality of some other Popes of this period. And his character has not been made the subject of much controversy. For though his earlier life was not altogether blameless, as Pope he was chargeable with nothing worse than weakness and nepotism. It is otherwise with his successor, Alexander VI., whose pontificate is a painful and difficult subject for a Catholic historian. As our readers are already aware, Dr. Pastor makes no attempt to play the apologist. But this portion of his work has already been treated at some length in these pages by an able critic. For this reason we are happily absolved from any detailed consideration of the matter on the present occasion. And it will be enough if we say a passing word on a brighter side of this pontificate. If Dr. Pastor does not give us an apology for Pope Alexander VI.—and indeed he rejects the attempt as worse than futile—he has at any rate reduced the evil to its true dimensions. The Rodrigo Borgia of contemporary calumny and later tradition is one of those double-dyed villains who are generally confined to polemical Church history and to second-rate works of fiction. But the Alexander VI. who is here set before us is a real man, not a monster. He has strong passions and grave faults and failings; but he is not without redeeming qualities, and he is capable of good resolutions, which are not always ineffectual.

But what is far more noteworthy than any more pleasing traits in the Pope's personal character is the good work achieved during his pontificate. As Dr. Pastor observes:

Notwithstanding the predominance of secular interests throughout the whole reign of Alexander VI., this Pope was not inactive in matters regarding the Church. In all essentials, in spite of abuses, the government of the Church was steadily carried on; no doubt, however, this was partly owing to the marvellous perfection of her organisation (vol. vi. p. 142).

The author further goes on to tell how this Pope supported and cherished the religious orders, how he vindicated the rights of the Church against the encroachments of secular princes, how he promoted devotion to St. Anne and to the Blessed Virgin, how he celebrated the Jubilee services, how he strove to guard the purity of the faith and check the spread of false doctrines, how he sought to propagate the faith in Greenland and in the newly discovered parts of America. It was Pope Alexander, we are told, who gave all necessary powers and privileges to the first apostle of the New World, the Benedictine Bernard Boyl, and his companions, among whom was the great Bartolomeo Las Casas (p. 163).

As a patron of art, again, Alexander VI. did good service to Rome, both in the Vatican and in other ecclesiastical buildings; and several new Roman churches were erected during his reign. There is no reason to doubt the good motives which inspired all this worthy work; and if there is that in the Pope's own life which is in painful contrast with his zeal for preserving the faith, and promoting piety among the people, this is neither the first nor last of the strange vacillations and inconsistencies of our nature.

Among the other important acts of Alexander's reign, Dr. Pastor makes mention of the famous arbitration between Spain and Portugal, on the limits of their American possessions. He regards this as one of the glories of the Papacy; and indignantly rejects the notion that in this judgment the Pope gave away what was not his own, and sacrificed the liberties of the American Indians. Following in the wake of the late Cardinal Hergenröther, who has treated the subject in his valuable book on "The Catholic Church and the Christian State," our author explains that the Pope did but sanction rights which were supposed to have been legitimately acquired. And he points to the fact that in a later grant of land in Africa to Portugal, the consent of the natives is expressly stipulated as a condition. Perhaps it would have been well to add that the opinion that the Pope really gave away the soil of America without reference to the rights or wishes of the Indians, is not entirely a modern invention; for did not some Spanish adventurers claim the obedience of the natives on the very ground of this donation? On the other hand, it

is satisfactory to remember that modern writers were by no means the first to speak in behalf of the oppressed Indians; for their just claims were vindicated by the great Spanish Dominican, Franciscus de Victoria and other contemporary theologians; and subsequently their chief champion, the heroic Las Casas, won for them the special protection of Pope Paul III.

We have left ourselves no space to speak of the tragic career of another great Dominican, Fra Girolamo Savonarola, whose name naturally fills many of Dr. Pastor's most interesting pages. And the subject is too vast and intricate to be dealt with in a few passing words. We can leave it, however, with less regret, as it has already been treated in these pages in the aforesaid article on Alexander VI., and has received yet further attention on the occasion of the recent centenary celebration. We may add that fresh light on Savonarola's life may be expected from some important works now preparing for the press, both here and in Italy; and the subject may again be brought before our readers on some future occasion.

To some it may possibly seem, that the chief interest of this period centres in the Borgia Pope and his great Florentine antagonist. And the first object with which not a few readers will approach Dr. Pastor's volumes will be, to see how he has told the story of that struggle, and to find how far his evidence or his arguments may serve to modify their judgment on Alexander VI. and Savonarola. But to our thinking, though much undoubtedly depended on the action, whether for good or evil, of these two master men; and though the author's presentment of their story is full of varied interest, and helps the reader to form a just and impartial judgment; the chief worth of the work is rather to be sought in the general survey of the Renaissance, and the great figure which stands forth as the hero of the history is not Alexander or Savonarola, but Pope Julius II. In the stirring pages in which the story of this pontificate is set before us, we are made to feel the dire stress of storm and danger which beset the Church in those troublous times; and we are shown the inspiring spectacle of a strong man struggling with a host of enemies, and coming out victorious by sheer strength of character. It is a far cry from the Rome of the Renaissance to the court and camp of

Frederick the Great. Yet there is something in the courage and indomitable energy of Pope Julius II. that somehow reminds us of the master-builder of modern Germany.

It is true that, though the qualities displayed by Julius II. in his arduous struggle show him to be a great statesman and ruler of men, there is something startling, nay unseemly, in the spectacle of a warlike pope or bishop. With his accustomed candour, Dr. Pastor does not attempt to disguise this, or to pass it over without notice. He freely allows that in the part he played during the siege of Mirandola, the Pope's conduct was unbecoming.

Undoubtedly at that time Julius II. was carried away by his eager temperament to violate the *decorum clericale* in a scandalous manner, and deserves grave blame for this as also for the violent outbursts of anger to which he so often gave way (vol. vi. p. 439).

Elsewhere again we read:

No impartial historian can deny that Julius II., in all his undertakings, displayed a violence and want of moderation that was far from becoming in a Pope. He was a genuine child of the south, impulsive, passionate, herculean in his strength; but possibly in such a stormy period as was the beginning of the sixteenth century some such personality as his was needed to be the "Saviour of the Papacy" (vol. vi. p. 454).

At the same time, Dr. Pastor takes care to show that it is a grave injustice to say with some that Pope Julius had nothing of the priest in him but the cassock and the name. From the testimony of eye-witnesses or other contemporaries, it is made clear that, in spite of all his political cares and troubles, Julius II. faithfully fulfilled his ecclesiastical obligations, both in the celebration of divine worship and in the government of the Church. His name, we are further told, was connected with many admirable enactments of reform. And besides taking active measures to check abuses and preserve the purity of the faith, he busied himself in promoting the evangelisation of Africa and America. He was a friend to the religious orders, and especially encouraged the efforts of the zealous preaching friars, whose labours were so fruitful of good in the large towns of Italy. Nor was he indifferent to the crying need of real reform. He had already shown his sense of its

necessity; and he was maturing practical plans of reformation when he was struck down by the hand of death.

These unfulfilled desires, indeed, would be but a poor compensation for a life wasted on war and politics. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that such was really the case with the pontificate of Julius II. It may be that, as our author says, on some occasions he displayed unbecoming violence and want of moderation, or that his impetuosity led him to violate ecclesiastical decorum by taking too active a part in warfare. For even his admirers must fain allow that he had the defects of his qualities. But it must be borne in mind that the conflict in which he was engaged was no war of aggression, inspired by greed or ambition. It was not for himself, or for his own family, but for the Church and for her just rights and liberties, that he spent himself in the struggle. As Dr. Pastor clearly shows, Pope Julius cannot be fairly blamed for deferring the work of reform :

The conditions created by the Borgia were such that, before the new Pope could do anything else, it was absolutely necessary to secure some firm ground to stand upon. How could a powerless Pope, whose own life even was not secure, attempt to attack questions of reform in which so many conflicting interests were involved? Julius II. saw plainly that his first official duty was the restoration of the States of the Church in order to secure the freedom and independence of the Holy See (vol. vi. p. 449).

Or, as the author says elsewhere :

Penetrated with the conviction that, in order to rule the Church with independence, the Pope must be his own master in a territory of his own, he set himself with his whole soul to the task of putting a stop to the dismemberment of the temporal possessions of the Holy See, and saving the Church from again falling under the domination of France, and he succeeded (vol. vi. pp. 452-453).

This picture of the great Pope labouring to deliver the Church and lay the foundations of a real reform, is certainly a strange contrast to the Julius II. of contemporary satire or its echoes in later tradition. Some of our readers may remember how a late English professor of history sent his pupils to the venomous pages of the "*Julius Exclusus*," that they might learn something about this heroic pontiff.* It is satisfactory

* See Froude's "*Life and Letters of Erasmus*."

to find that there is no foundation for the scandalous accusation insinuated by the satirists. And Dr. Pastor has had access to the manuscripts of some whose silence in this matter may well be regarded as conclusive. On the other hand, the nature of contemporary calumny, and the bitter animosity aroused by the Pope's vigorous action, are quite enough to account for the circulation of these baseless charges. The force of this exculpation is further enhanced by the fact that our author makes no concealment of the grave blots on the earlier life of Giuliano della Rovere, though there is happily no trace of scandal during his career as pontiff. That career finds a fitting close in the calm and courageous death-bed scene, which is finely described in Dr. Pastor's pages. The reader, who has followed him thus far, will probably find himself already disposed to agree with Gregorovius that Julius was the greatest Pope since the days of Innocent III.

But our sense of the Pope's real greatness is further enhanced when we turn to consider his work as a patron of art, which fills the closing chapters of the present volume. The reader who comes to this noble record fresh from the story of the pontiff's ceaseless struggle with hostile princes and barons, or with the intriguing cardinals of the French king's pseudo-Council, may well wonder that he had any time or strength to bestow on other matters. It might have been thought that this Pope at least could leave little behind him in the peaceful realms of art. And possibly the prominence given to the wars of Julius II., and the sense of their incompatability with energetic action in other directions, may help to account for the fact that some of the artistic triumphs of his reign are often placed to the credit of his more pacific successor. But in the book before us the claims of Pope Julius are fully vindicated.

Dr. Pastor first gives us a chapter on the work of Bramante, and the improvements in Roman architecture. Valuable as this is, far greater interest attaches to the following chapter, which tells of Michael Angelo's work in the Sistine Chapel, and elsewhere in Rome. Here we are made to feel the stupendous power of the artist, whose mighty genius and strong character were nevertheless dominated and controlled by the resistless purpose and energetic action of Pope Julius. The

relations between these two original and impetuous natures present a singularly curious and interesting spectacle. In the course of this chapter Michael Angelo's sonnet on the hardships of his Sistine painting is very appropriately introduced. Dr. Pastor is content to give a German version only, but the English editor more wisely prints the Italian original in his text, and adds a fine translation by Mr. Symonds.* The debt which religious art owes to Julius II. is made yet more apparent in Dr. Pastor's closing chapter on the work of Raphael. For it is there made clear that the famous frescoes in the Vatican *Stanze* were due to the Pope's sound and discriminating judgment, no less than to his energy and persistence. The task of decorating these apartments had been originally entrusted to a band of artists, and Raphael was only one of their number. But the Pope soon saw the superiority of the great painter's work, and dispensing with the services of the others, he left the whole of the frescoes in the hands of the true master. Lovers of art will linger over the pages in which Dr. Pastor sets forth the merits of the "School of Athens" and the "Disputa del Sacramento," and expounds their theological meaning. And his readers may well experience a sense of relief as they rest in these purer and serener realms of art, after the dark and stormy scenes through which he has led them.

These closing chapters, we may add, give an artistic perfection to the volumes, and round them off in fitting fashion. For in these lofty labours of Bramante and Raphael and Michael Angelo, we can see the truth of that teaching which the author sought to impress upon our minds in his opening pages. We see that Christian faith and genuine piety still lived and flourished in that crisis of history in spite of the swelling tide of corruption and sins and scandals. We see the Church rising majestically in the storm, offering a shelter from the danger of new doctrines and the phantom of resurgent paganism. We feel the presence of the spirit of the true Renaissance, penetrating and inspiring the forms of ancient art, and ennobling the supreme efforts of native Italian genius. And in the midst of this bright band of Christian artists,

* Vol. vi. p. 518.

we see the greatest of the Popes of the Renaissance gathering them together, urging them onward, and guiding their labours.

From this lofty standpoint, we can look back on the course of the history recorded in these volumes. And we find it, as we have felt from the first, a picture of strangely mingled light and shadow, which has here been faithfully set before us without fear or favour. There is certainly much in it to sadden the heart and dim the brightness of the good work which has lately engaged our attention. We see discord and troubles in the State, luxury and corruption in society, and many a glaring evil crying for reform. And we feel that all this is destined to bear bitter fruit in the next generation. For who can doubt that these things, whether directly by weakening faith and fostering infidelity, or indirectly through rash and misguided attempts to reform by revolution, were among the main causes of all the subsequent troubles?

But, on the other hand, we can see not less clearly how the Church still put forth her strength in the storm; how, in spite of some faithless sons who betrayed their trust, she still had zealous religious men and women, and priests and prelates, and many thousands of godly and faithful children, Popes of pure life like Pius III., or fired with zeal and generous purpose like Julius II. We see how the Gospel was still preached to the heathen, and Christian charity still gave succour to the poor, the sick, and the dying.

Nor is this all. For we may also see how the evil itself is often over-ruled and made to serve some good purpose. Thus, the ambition of the Borgia family broke down the power of the turbulent barons of the Roman States, and prepared the way for the subsequent victory of Pope Julius II. and the liberation of the Church from her oppressors. And this deliverance itself was, as we have seen, but a stepping-stone towards further good, and provided a necessary instrument for ecclesiastical reforms and the correction of abuses. Assuredly, if the evils of the Renaissance epoch foreshadow the further evils of schism and rebellion, these fairer and more hopeful features are bright with the promise of coming triumphs, and herald the dawning era of the Tridentine reforms.

Thus, as we survey the eventful period through which we

have travelled under Dr. Pastor's guidance, and endeavour to cast up the account and strike the balance, and frame some conclusion as to the meaning of the whole, we find ourselves already looking forward to the next stage of the movement, and to the problems presented by the age of Leo X. and Luther. This, indeed, is only natural, for it is scarcely possible to judge aright of the one period without a true knowledge and a just estimate of the other. All that has been done by Dr. Pastor in the books before us, all the fresh light that has been here thrown on the age of the Renaissance, prepares the way for a better understanding of the great crisis of the Reformation. But it is equally the case that similar investigation in the records of the Reformation can hardly fail to give a fuller and clearer knowledge of the preceding period.

From what we have said it may be seen that, while we cordially thank the German historian and his English interpreters for the good service rendered to all students of history, our gratitude is partly of that kind described by Walpole as a lively sense of future favours. As yet the tale is half told; and we anxiously await its completion. So many other important works of history have remained as fragments, or have been left for other hands to finish, that we may venture to express a hope that Dr. Pastor will not allow himself to be drawn aside from his chosen task, to waste any of his valuable labour on passing controversy or other lesser subjects. We could wish, indeed, that some task-master as rigorous and persistent as his own Julius II. could keep him fast to his herculean labours till he has gathered and sifted the multitudinous mass of documents which bear on the great religious crisis of the sixteenth century; till he has read its meaning with the same true insight, and weighed both Churchmen and Reformers in the impartial balance of his judgment; till he has done for the Popes of the Reformation all that he has done in these volumes for the Popes of the Renaissance.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

ART. II.—THE TRIUMPH OF ST. THOMAS.

IT was the fashion during the period between the Protestant Revolt and the French Revolution to decry the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages as mere retailers of second-hand opinions and debaters of idle and frivolous questions. The original occasion for this contemptuous attitude was not so much the undeniable degeneracy of Scholasticism in the period immediately prior to the Pagan Renaissance, as it was the excessive grammaticism and archæologism of the Renaissance movement itself. The most striking characteristic of the Renaissance on its intellectual side was a humanistic empiricism which set a higher value on a classical turn of expression than on depth and originality of thought, and considered a precise knowledge of the typical arrangement of a Roman camp far more important than a right view of the order of the universe. The period from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries was an age of textualism and minute study of details, and by no means of high and penetrating thought. It was this spirit which favoured the rise of a text-mongering form of sectarianism and furnished so favourable a nidus for its growth. The philosophical spirit, in spite of the efforts of a few Platonists and of the never wholly interrupted succession of expositors and synopsisers of the great mediæval masters of sacred science, was almost dead, and when it seemed to revive it was in the form of a revolutionary philosophical movement which ignored or despised the seemingly obsolescent traditions of the School.

The attempt made by Lord Bacon in England to intrude empiricism into the throne of philosophy, and the effort of Descartes in France to spin a bran-new philosophy, spider-like, out of his own entrails, were only too successful. From the one descended the dogmatic empiricism of "modern science," and from the other the phantasmagoria of incongruous metaphysical systems which ended in making the philosophic discipline appear more ridiculous and futile than ever to the great masses of the people, and even to those who most prided themselves on their "education."

But after the mania for Greek and Roman antiquity had
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spent its first energies, the archaeologists, in search for new fields for work and reputation, began to turn to the despised Middle Ages; and during the present century—by the labour of disinterested and even hostile specialists, much more than by that of the Catholic historical apologists—those ages have been rehabilitated more and more fully with every decade. The fact is now recognised among enlightened scholars that there is no place and period known to history which presents a more intense and widespread intellectual, artistic and spiritual activity, or a more beneficent evolution of social and economic institutions, to say nothing of other features, than the Christian Europe of the Middle Ages—from the Pontificate of Gregory VII. to that of Leo X.

The dispelling by modern historical criticism of the dense clouds of ignorance and misrepresentation which shut out from view the transcendent glories of Europe's Ages of Faith prepared the way for the restoration of sound and Heaven-illuminated philosophy to her rightful supremacy in the world of thought.

The greatest of all theologians and philosophers, St. Thomas Aquinas, had never ceased to be held in the highest veneration by the Church of God. The Council of Trent was held in what was perhaps the darkest period of Europe's intellectual history since the Age of Reconstruction (from the fall of the Western Empire to the latter part of the eleventh century), which, by the way, we commonly call dark only because the prodigious activities incident to the building up of a new and higher civilisation out of the débris of the old Pagan one, scattered over the wilderness of Teutonic barbarism, left no time for it to record its doings or indulge in the luxuries of speculative thought and artistic creation. But even at the Council of Trent the *Summa Theologica* was placed on the altar beside the Holy Gospels, as being, in the words of Mgr. O'Reilly, "the most perfect scientific exposition of revealed truth."

So it was only natural that the watchword of the philosophical revival should be "Back to St. Thomas!" The tocsin of a new era in the history of thought was sounded on August 4, 1879, when the great encyclical *Æterni Patris* appeared. In this immortal document Pope Leo XIII. (who, as Joachim Cardinal Pecci, Bishop of Perugia, had long before shown his enlightened zeal for true learning by creating

in his episcopal city a centre of the highest intellectual activities, under the patronage of the Angelic Doctor) insisted upon the primary importance of the study and diffusion of the science upon which all other sciences depend, and proclaimed the salutary and still too little appreciated truth that the greatest need of the hour is "a philosophical doctrine that has an equal regard for the rules of faith and the dignity of human science." He voiced the sentiments "of the city and the world" when he added: "Among the doctors of the schools St. Thomas stands forth as by far the first and the master of all." And he gives the secret and nature of that greatness:

As Cajetan has remarked, because he had a sovereign veneration for all the ancient doctors, he seems to have united in himself the intellectual powers of them all. Their teachings, which were like the scattered members of the same body, he put together and completed, arranging them in a marvellous order and giving them such wonderful increase that he is justly held to be the great defender and glory of the Catholic Church.

The result of the enlightened initiative of the Sovereign Pontiff has been an extraordinary revival of interest in the Scholastic philosophy, and a rapidly growing movement among modern thinkers towards the doctrines of the Lyceum and the School. From present appearances the twentieth century will witness the complete restoration of the Angelic Doctor to his former ascendancy in the world of thought. All the modern metaphysical systems of the Occident and all the philosophies, new and old, of the Orient play into his hands, not only by the contradictions and uncertainties which have undermined their credit, but also by the emphasis which they severally lay upon the various aspects and fragments of truth which find in Thomism their perfect reconciliation and synthesis. Some recognise matter only; others behold nothing but spirit; but in the doctrines of the School matter is inseparably wedded with intelligent or at least intelligible forms, and spiritual intelligences preside over all the transformations of the corporeal universe. Some make space and time mere subjective laws of thought; others identify them with the first principles of all being; but Thomism makes them attributes of matter, recognises a world of intelligences above them both, and teaches

that they do not contain God, but, like all other created existences and principles, are contained by Him. Some say the visible world is an illusion; others say that it is all that exists; St. Thomas demonstrates that it has a real but wholly dependent, contingent and participated existence, so that, indeed, the whole universe considered apart from or in addition to its Creator is nothing: God plus the universe equals God alone. Some say that the human soul is merely an arrangement or product of the material body; others that it is a separate substance, abiding in the body like a man in his clothes or a hermit-crab in its shell; but the Angelic Doctor teaches that the soul of man is to his body precisely what the vital principle of an animal or plant, or the formative principle of a crystal, is to the matter which it dominates.

Some, again, say that the human soul is dependent upon the body for its existence; others that the body is merely an encumbrance, from which it escapes forever at death; but the Thomists know that the soul survives, though it remains incomplete, abnormal, and only quasi-substantial, until it is reunited to the body by correlation with which it is individualised. Some teach that the universe has existed from all eternity: others that it began to exist at some remote period of time; but St. Thomas teaches that there was no time when the universe did not exist, but that both time and the universe had a coincident beginning. Some teach that God is impersonal; others attribute to Him human emotions and limitations; but the School recognises Him as the very essence of being, intelligence and freedom, and therefore supremely personal, and yet as absolutely indivisible, changeless, and devoid of extension, movement, parts or emotions.

We might continue this enumeration, after the fashion of the Hegelian *thesis*, *antithesis* and *synthesis*, indefinitely; in all cases the Catholic philosophy, of which Aquinas was the greatest master, represents the golden mean of thought, in which all extremes, correcting each other by the composition of their positive and the elimination of their negative elements, are conciliated.

The empiric sciences are playing a large part in the vindication of Thomism; for that system is physical as well as

metaphysical, being a truly universal philosophy, and covering all being, all thought and all activity, of every order and degree.

Psychology, split asunder by the Cartesian dualism, is being forced back to the Peripatetic and Scholastic principles. Modern research is establishing, point by point, the psychological doctrines of Aristotle and St. Thomas, and the foremost leaders of the physiological psychology, like Wundt of Leipzig, are compelled to confess that the results of their labours "do not fit in with the materialistic hypothesis, or with the Platonic or Cartesian dualism; only the Aristotelian animism, which attaches psychology to biology, proceeds, as a plausible metaphysical conclusion, from experimental psychology."

The vitality of the Neo-Thomistic philosophy [says the *Revue Scientifique*] is so great that it is able to assimilate the results of contemporary research in psychology and psycho-physics without making any concession, and without emasculating science as is done daily in the ordinary analogous books. Far from fearing the investigations of physiologists, it regrets that their studies on the nervous system, the localisation of functions and senses, are not more developed; for in all these it recognises indispensable auxiliaries.

Mgr. Mercier, of Louvain, editor of the *Revue Néo-Scholastique*, congratulates the physiological psychologists for having renewed traditions which an interval of several centuries had broken. St. Thomas himself distinctly states that all the lower faculties of the soul, including the cognitive, are the acts of physical organs, and even the superior faculties, the abstractive reason and the free will, are naturally dependent upon certain bodily powers, such as imagination and memory. Scarcely a beginning has been made in the localisation of brain-functions, if the process can be carried on as far as the doctrine of St. Thomas implies.

The study of animal psychology has fully confirmed the accuracy of the Thomistic distinctions between the mind of man and that of even the highest of the other animals. Lloyd Morgan, whose magnificent work in this field was done entirely independently of the traditional philosophy, and even in ignorance of it, reaches precisely the same conclusions. "There is," he says, "a breach of continuity of development at this stage of evolution [the transition from the animal to the

human mind] analogous to the breach of continuity between the inorganic and organic phases of development."*

The latest discoveries and hypotheses of the science of chemistry are leading back to the Scholastic conception of one universal matter, incapable of existing without a form, potential to an infinity of forms, and, in its appetite for the realisation of this potentiality, constantly exchanging one form for another, by a process of alternate corruption and generation, according to the selective predispositions to which each successive form gives rise.

The great modern discovery of the correlation of forces is simply a return to what was a commonplace of the old scholasticism. All motion sprang, in its view, from a single created first motor; which implies the essential unity and interchangeability of all forces.

Although the overthrow of the Ptolemaic astronomy has revolutionised our view of the physical structure of the material universe, there are some indications which promise a return to the ancient conception of a *primum mobile*. The inter-stellar ether bids fair to assume the vacant place once occupied by the uppermost crystalline sphere and the celestial substance or "fifth element," which was supposed to be in the world of matter what the angels are in the world of spirit.

The ancient theory that all the motions, alterations and transformations of terrestrial matter spring from the influence of the heavenly bodies, is being verified by every new discovery in physical science; and the most recent tendency is to attribute to the action of the imponderable, and apparently non-molecular and incorruptible, "inter-stellar ether" (the *primum mobile*?) all the phenomena of gravitation.

In biology the Scholastic teaching of spontaneous generation seemed to have received its death-blow from the experimentalists; but it has now recovered its standing, in a modified form, by the general acceptance of the evolutionary hypothesis, to which it is indispensable as a link between physical and biological evolution.

The nineteenth century is witnessing to the solidity of the

* "Comparative Psychology," cited by Prof. Mivart in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, October 1898.

Scholastic principles of social and economic science by the great movement, now rapidly spreading to all parts of Christendom, which has for its object the regeneration of society in the light of those very principles, which are simply the Gospel of Christ reduced to scientific form and fortified by the testimony of the greatest sages of Gentile antiquity. Liberalism, which is the political form of materialism (and which, it must be remembered, has no connection whatever with the virtue of liberality, and is not to be identified with any of the political parties in the British Empire, Spain, and elsewhere, bearing the name of "Liberal"), has proved a dire failure. Rejecting, as it does, the beneficent yoke of the Divine law, repudiating the natural order of human society, and shirking all responsibility for the welfare of private individuals, it has fostered, on the one hand, the despotic supremacy of brute wealth, unadorned by any of the virtues, graces, or utilities of true aristocracy; and, on the other, a spirit of sullen discontent among the masses of the people out of all proportion to the actual hardships of their lot, however excessive the latter may be. These and countless other results of the banishment of Catholic principles from the field of civics have given rise to the Socialism and Anarchism which seek to complete the destruction of the natural order of society, the one by the concentration of all its functions in the State, and the other by annihilating all authority and precedence of every kind.

But over against the monstrous despotism to which Socialism invites us, and the relapse into utter savagery which Anarchism threatens, the enlightened friends of true liberty are holding up the Catholic ideal of a social order based upon the laws of nature and pervaded by the spirit of Jesus Christ. Socialism, Anarchism and Liberalism all look upon individual men and women as so many factors in a mere mechanical problem. Their man is a purely mythical monster, and not the rational and social animal, endowed with intellect and free will, and destined to eternal Beatitude, which is the only kind of man that really exists. In their eyes, moreover, all men are equal; whereas, in fact, they are variously endowed with natural capacities and supernatural graces, and assigned, by nature and Providence, to infinitely various posts, stations, spheres,

and environments. Society is an organism in which the component individuals, like the cells in an animal body, have their specific and particular functions, as elements in a plexus of inter-acting hierarchical systems. The welfare of society depends upon the perfection with which each individual fulfils the duties, meets the responsibilities and conforms to the amenities of his particular state, office, and degree.

In every sphere the lower owe reverence, obedience, and docility to the higher, while the higher are to cherish, direct, and illumine the lower, and all are to be affable to all. The blood family, the economic family, the intellectual family, the religious family—these are so many integral societies, each with its own rights, duties, privileges, and appropriate constitution, and all are bound to co-operate with each other, and with the greater societies, the State and the Church, within which they are contained and to which they are subject, for the common and several good.

By temperance, fortitude, prudence, and distributive and commutative justice, with their consequent and dependent virtues, the integrity of the social order is maintained and the welfare of each individual member of society assured; and the inevitable defects resulting from the frailty of our fallen nature are made good by the supernatural virtues of faith, hope, and charity, so that the weak, the unfortunate, and the in any way suffering or needy, are not only protected against the strong, but are made the objects of the loving solicitude and care of all their fellows.

Towards this Catholic ideal of human society, maintained by St. Thomas Aquinas and by all truly Christian philosophy, always and everywhere, the modern world, after its long and miserable aberration, is beginning to return. Even the most Liberalistic of governments are throwing off the incubus of the physiocratic superstition, and beginning to concern themselves, as in the Middle Ages, with the personal welfare of their citizens, and to realise that they do not exist "for the greatest good of the greatest number," or of any limited number, but for the equal good of all, according to their several abilities, needs, and functions.

The brutal and heartless Liberalism of the past is being slowly ground to powder between the upper and nether mill-

stones of Catholicity and Socialism ; as we see most strikingly illustrated in Belgium, the most progressive of all the Continental nations, where every election reduces the Liberal minority and increases the Socialist fraction as well as the Catholic majority. Socialism is too unnatural, and the hopes it fosters are too illusory, for it to have, at the utmost, more than a transitory triumph ; the whole trend of the social sciences is away from the spurious "orthodoxy" of the political economy of the past few generations, and towards the principles which underlaid the magnificent social evolution of the Christian centuries preceding the Protestant revolution ; and the Catholic social reform movement, with scores of learned and wide-awake periodical organs in many different languages, and forwarded by numerous powerful organisations, undeniably represents the most active, scientific, humane, and expansive school of social-economic thought and action of the present day. For these reasons, among others, it seems safe to prognosticate that in this field, as in others, the Angelic Doctor, in the persons of his modern disciples and clients, is about to achieve a triumph as glorious as that which in his lifetime crowned his polemic against the Jewish and Arabian philosophers.

We have only touched on a few principal points : the list of consummated and inchoate victories over the philosophast of the Encyclopædia, which underlies all the bourgeois Philistinism of the Liberal school, might be indefinitely enlarged.

We have attributed to the great Dominican Doctor a credit which some modern Schoolmen might ascribe in part to other eminent masters of one or another school of the same grand old Greco-Gothic philosophy, and still grander Scholastic theology, that he represented, and which many others would be fain to vindicate to the Church herself.

It is true that the current of Scholastic teaching has come down to us through other channels besides the works of Aquinas and of his expositors and followers ; but the present Christian Renaissance is, above all, a "return to St. Thomas."

It is also true that many of the teachings which we have attributed to St. Thomas are common to all Scholastic theologians and philosophers, and in some cases are an integral portion of the Catholic faith. Though adhesion to the philo-

sophy of the School has never been made obligatory upon the faithful, yet most certainly it is to the Church, whose sacred Tradition and infallible magisterium and illuminating sacraments alone made a St. Thomas possible, and whose celestial wisdom recognises in him her most prodigious Doctor, that, under God, the chief credit and glory is due. It is at the invitation of the earthly head of the Church that the world is returning to St. Thomas. The victory of the Angel of the Schools is the victory of the Catholic Church, and of Jesus Christ Himself. It is a new answer to the petition offered daily by the countless millions of the faithful who have lived and died since the beginning of the dispensation of grace: *Adveniat regnum Tuum*—Thy kingdom come. "Amen. Come, Lord Jesus."

MERWIN-MARIE SNELL.

ART. III.—DRAMATIC ART AND CHURCH LITURGY.

THIS article might indeed have been entitled "The Lyrical Poetry of the Church's Liturgy," and had it been so my readers would have seen no incongruity in it. The term "Dramatic Art," however, in connection with Liturgy will doubtless appear to many highly inappropriate. We are, indeed, familiar with the beautiful hymns and sequences of the Mass and Office, and we can all answer for their lyrical excellence; but how many have realised with what good reason we can apply to them the term "Dramatic"? My object, therefore, in writing is to show that though lyrical poetry does abound, yet, looked at in its broader and more comprehensive aspect, the ceremonies of the Church will be seen to contain the dramatic character in its noblest and purest form.

At the outset, however, I feel that there is something to premise. Catholic worship, to those without the pale of the Church, has often seemed scenic and theatrical. The reason for this misconception seems to be that in these prosaic days pomp and magnificence, which formerly belonged to all that was royal and noble, has been confined almost entirely to the theatre, and has thereby received a reproachful name. But will any one argue that the Church, which has preserved this pomp and magnificence, should abandon it in consequence, and are we to stigmatise as theatrical what existed before the theatres? We must remember none the less that in speaking of our ceremonies in this connection we do not refer to that outward display which, beautiful though it is, does not constitute true dramatic poetry. No one will say, for instance, that the last blessing given by the Bishop in Pontifical High Mass—when, after assuming mitre and crosier and surrounded by his assistant clergy, he solemnly pronounces the triple benediction on the assembled crowds—is not extremely beautiful and impressive, but for all this it is not dramatic. Quite another thing is the Office of the Dead, of which I shall have more to say shortly.

Dramatic poetry may be considered as twofold in object—

descriptive and representative. First, it vividly portrays to us the distant scenes and actions, and more than this, it bears away the imagination and soul to view what others have said and done, and thereby arouses in us those impressions which our actual presence would naturally have created. In order to bring home my meaning more forcibly I will here introduce to the reader's notice two passages from the Old Testament which in the noblest sense of the word constitute dramatic poetry. The first may be regarded as dramatic in word and action, the second in word alone. The twenty-third Psalm was composed by David and sung on the occasion of the translation of the Ark of the Covenant to Mount Sion. The procession formed at the foot of the hill, headed by a choir chanting a magnificent introduction :

Choir I. and II. Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus; orbis terrarum, et universi qui habitant in eo. Quia ipse super maria fundavit eum, et super flumina prae-paravit eum.

The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, the world and all that dwell therein. He hath founded it upon the seas and hath prepared it upon the rivers.

Then as the procession winds up the slopes of the mount the first choir asks :

Choir I. Quis ascendet in montem Domini, aut quis stabit in loco sancto ejus?

Who shall ascend into the mountain of the Lord, or who shall stand in His holy place?

Choir II. Innocens manibus et mundo corde.

The innocent of hand and the clean of heart.

By this time the procession has reached the gates of the Tabernacle, and finds them closed :

Outer Choir. Attollite portas, principes, vestras; et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriæ!

Lift up your gates, O ye princes, be ye lifted up, O eternal gates, and the King of glory shall enter in.

Inner Choir. Quis est iste Rex gloriæ?

Who is this King of glory?

Outer Choir. Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in prælio.

The Lord who is strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.

And again repeating its demand, it continues :

Attollite portas principes vestras,
et elevamini, portæ æternales, et
introbibit Rex gloriæ!

Inner Choir. Quis est iste Rex
gloriæ?

United Choirs. Dominus virtu-
tum, ipse est Rex gloriæ!

Lift up your gates, O ye princes!
and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates,
and the King of glory shall enter in!

Who is this King of glory?

The Lord of hosts, He is the
King of glory!

The inspired prophets of the Old Law are full of the same lofty poetry. Witness this beautiful colloquy between the Messias and a chorus, from the sixty-third chapter of Isaïas.

Chorus. Quis est iste qui venit
ab Edom, tinctis vestibus de
Bosra? Iste formosus in stola
sua, gradiens in multitudine forti-
tudinis suæ?

Messias. Ego qui loquor justi-
tiam, et propugnator sum ad sal-
vandum.

Chorus. Quare ergo rubrum est
indumentum tuum, et vestimenta
tua sicut calcantium in torculari?

Messias. Torcular calcavi solus,
et de gentibus non est vir mecum;
calcavi eos in furore meo, et con-
culcavi eos in ira mea, et aspersus
est sanguis eorum super vesti-
menta mea, et indumenta mea
inquinavi.

Who is He that cometh forth
from Edom with dyed garments of
Bosra? This beautiful one in His
robe walking in the greatness of
His strength?

I that speak justice and am a
defender to save.

Why then is thy apparel red, and
thy garments like theirs who tread
in the wine-press?

I have trodden the wine-press
alone, and of the Gentiles there is no
man with me; and I have trampled
on them in my indignation, and
trodden them down in my wrath,
and their blood is sprinkled on my
garments and I have stained all
my apparel.

These two instances, which by no means stand alone in the Old Testament, will perhaps help us to appreciate more fully the dramatic beauties of our Liturgy. Those who have lived from infancy in the Catholic Church, and have learnt to love her ritual merely because it is the Church's, are apt sometimes to close their eyes to its intrinsic beauty, and in consequence they fail to see the method by which she would draw souls to God. The Church knows well that the love of the beautiful is implanted deep down in every human heart, and this she would sanctify by employing it in the service of God; hence she pictures to us, with a beauty and a magnificence all her

own, now striking scenes from our Lord's life on earth, now the last struggle of the soul as it leaves the body and stands at the judgment-seat of its Creator, thus silently urging us to conform our lives to that of the Divine Master, or lay our plans for the last great journey.

I will draw my first series of examples from the Office of the Dead, a ceremony with which we are all familiar, but which, we shall see, is full of a beauty that is seldom attributed to it. Every particle, indeed, of the service recalls the awful hour of separation, when the soul is vividly represented as wrestling with the powers of darkness on the verge of destruction. The following is from the Offertory of the Mass :

Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriæ
libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de pœnis inferni, et de profundo lacu ; libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum, sed signifer Sanctus Michael representet eas in lucem sanctam, quam olim Abraham promisisti et semini ejus.

O Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Glory, deliver the souls of the faithful departed from the profound abyss of hell ; save them from the lion's mouth that they may not be overwhelmed by destruction, and grant that darkness come not upon them, but that under the standard of St. Michael they be brought into the light of heaven, which Thou didst promise to Abraham and his seed.

Or again, from the first and second nocturn of Matins :

Nequando rapiat ut leo animam meam, dum non est qui redinat neque qui saluum faciat.

[Be with me, O Lord] lest at any time the evil one as a lion snatch my soul, when there shall be no one to rescue or to save me.

Hei mihi Domine quia peccavi nimis in vita mea !

Woe is me, O Lord, who have sinned so much in my life !

Turn now to the sequence of the Mass, and it will amply repay a little consideration. The author begins by bringing before us the great truth, witnessed to by writers sacred and profane, that all earthly things must end :

Dies iræ, dies illa,
Solvat sæclum in favilla,
Teste David cum sibylla.

Day of wrath, thou drawest nigh,
Doomed to death are earth and sky,
Told in lore and prophecy.

Then in the succeeding stanzas he draws a graphic, almost terrifying, picture of the great day of reckoning :

Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando iudex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus !

Turba mirum spargens sonum
Per sepulcra regionum,
Coget omnes ante thronum.

Mors stupebit et natura,
Cum resurget creatura,
Iudicanti responsura.

Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus iudicetur.

Iudex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet apparebit ;
Nil inultum remanebit.

But who can gaze on such a picture and not say within himself

Quid sum miser tunc dicturus ?
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cum vix justus sit securus ?

O what trembling shall there be
When the world its Judge shall see
Coming in dread majesty !

Hark ! the trump with thrilling
tone
From sepulchral regions lone,
Summons all before the throne

Time and death it doth appal,
As the buried ages all
Rise and answer to the call.

See the books are open spread !
Now the writing must be read,
Which condemns both quick and
dead.

Now, before the Judge severe,
Hidden things must all appear,
Nought can pass unpunished here.

Instinctively we turn with tearful eyes upon our Saviour, reminding Him of all that He has suffered, acknowledging our sins, and seeking pardon ere we stand before His throne :

Rex tremendæ majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me fons pietatis.

Recordare, Jesu pie,
Quod sum causa tuæ viæ,
Ne me perdas illa die.

Quærens me sedisti lassus,
Redemisti crucem passus :
Tantus labor non sit cassus.

Iuste iudex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis
Ante diem rationis.

King of dreadful destiny,
Who dost freely justify,
Fount of pity, save Thou me !

Recollect, O love divine,
'Twas for this lost sheep of Thine
Thou Thy glory didst resign.

Weary sat'st Thou seeking me,
Dying friendless on the tree,
Let not vain Thy labours be.

Judge of justice, hear my prayer ;
Spare me, Lord, in mercy spare,
Ere the reckoning day appear.

Ingemisco tanquam reus,
 Culpa rubet vultus meus,
 Supplicanti parce Deus.

Lo, Thy gracious face I seek ;
 Shame and grief are on my cheek ;
 Sighs and tears my sorrow speak.

The thought of His mercy to Magdalen and the penitent thief urges us humbly to seek for pardon :

Qui Mariam absolvisti,
 Et latronem exaudisti,
 Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

Preces meæ non sunt dignæ ;
 Sed tu bonus fac benigne,
 Ne pereunî cremar igne.

Inter oves locum præsta,
 Et ab hœdis me sequestra,
 Statuens a parte dextra.

Confutatis maledictis,
 Flammis acerbis addictis,
 Voca me cum benedictis.

Thou didst Mary's guilt forgive ;
 Didst the dying thief receive ;
 Hence doth hope within me live.

Worthless are my prayers, I know ;
 Yet, O cause me not to go
 Into everlasting woe.

Severed from the guilty band,
 Make me with Thy sheep to stand,
 Placing me on Thy right hand.

When the curs'd in anguish flee
 Into flames of misery,
 With the blessed call Thou me.

One more look at the dread spectacle of the judgment and a prayer for the holy souls concludes the hymn.

Oro supplex et acclinis,
 Cor contritum quasi cinis
 Gere curam mei finis.

Lacrymosa dies illa,
 Qua resurget ex favilla
 Judicandus homo reus.
 Huic ergo parce Deus ;
 Pie Jesu Domine
 Dona eis requiem. Amen.

Suppliant in the dust I lie,
 My heart a cinder crushed and dry ;
 Help me, Lord, when death is nigh.

Full of tears and full of dread
 Is the day that wakes the dead,
 Calling all with solemn blast
 From the ashes of the past.
 Lord of Mercy, Jesu blest,
 Grant the faithful light and rest.

All this my readers will readily admit is singularly beautiful, and, considered in the light in which I have asked them to regard it, transports us to the scene of the last reckoning between justice and mercy, and our feelings of fervour are aroused to that intense energy which prayer at that decisive moment would inspire. The same may be said of Advent, when the Church would prepare us for the coming of our Lord, not by dry exhortations to profit by the event, but by portraying it as if it were actually about to take place. Hence she daily sings :

Rorate coeli desuper et nubes
pluant justum: aperiatur terra et
germinet salvatorem.

Shed down your dew, O ye heavens,
and let the clouds rain the Just
One. May the earth be opened and
bud forth the Saviour.

And the following striking passage occurs in the Office for
the first Sunday:

Aspiciebam in visu noctis, et ecce
in nubibus cœli Filius hominis ve-
niebat; et datum est ei regnum et
honor. Et omnis populus, tribus,
et linguæ servant ei.

—*Ad. Vesp. I.*

I peered into the darkness of the
night, and there amid the clouds of
heaven I saw the Son of Man ap-
proaching. Lo He comes as a King
in His splendour, and all peoples
and tribes and nations bow down
before Him.

Finally, at the very moment of the Saviour's birth, the
shepherds are desired in poetical language to relate what they
have seen:

Chorus. Quem vidistis, pastores,
dicite, annuntiate nobis, in terris
quis apparuit?

What have ye seen, O ye shep-
herds, tell us, announce to us the
news? Who is He that hath ap-
peared on earth?

Shepherds. Natum vidimus et
choros Angelorum collaudantes
Dominum.

He is born and we have seen
Him, and the Angel choirs that
praise their Lord.

Chorus. Dicite quidnam vidistis,
et annuntiate Christi nativitatem?

What is it that you have seen?
Tell us that Christ is born.

Shepherds. Natum vidimus et
choros Angelorum collaudantes
Dominum.

Yea, He is born and we have seen
Him, and the Angel choirs that
praise their Lord.

—*Noct. I. In Nat. Dom.*

In all this we can scarcely fail to recognise the highest
expression of poetical feeling most suitable to the event com-
memorated, which with dramatic power is placed before our
eyes. But however remarkable this may be at all seasons of
the year, it is the very soul of the Office of Holy Week. The
Church robes herself in mourning as if our Lord were actually
about to die, and her pathetic cry comes back to us again and
again during those solemn days:

O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum!

[No. 31 of *Fourth Series*.]

D

Further our Blessed Lord is made in the beautiful *Impropria* * on Good Friday to address the Jews as though they were still His people, and to expostulate lovingly with them for their ingratitude and rejection of Him :

Popule meus, quid feci tibi, aut in quo contristavi te? responde mihi.

Quia eduxi te de terra Ægypti parasti crucem Salvatori tuo?

Quia eduxi te per desertum quadraginta annis, et manna cibavi te, et introduxi te in terram satis bonam, parasti crucem Salvatori tuo?

Quid ultra debui facere tibi, et non feci? Ego quidem plantavi te vineam meam speciosissimam, et tu factus es mihi nimis amara; aceto namque sitim meam potasti, et lancea perforasti latus Salvatori tuo!

Ego propter te flagellavi Ægyptum cum primogenitis suis, et tu me flagellatum tradidisti!

Popule meus.

Ego eduxi te de Ægypto, demerso Pharaone in mare rubrum, et tu me tradidisti principibus sacerdotum.

Ego ante te aperui mare, et tu aperuisti lancea latus meum.

Ego ante te prævi in columnis nubis, et tu me duxisti in Prætorium Pilati.

How have I wronged you, my people, how have I saddened you? tell me, I pray.

Is it because I led you forth from Egypt that you have doomed your Saviour to the Cross?

Is it because I guided you for forty years amid the perils of the desert, fed you on manna, and brought you safe to the promised land, that you have doomed your Saviour to the Cross?

What more can I do for you that I have not done? I have planted you indeed as my most specious vine, and you have turned all bitterness for me; with vinegar you have quenched my burning thirst, and with a lance you have pierced your Saviour's side!

For your sakes did I scourge Egypt by the death of their first-born, and now you have given me over to the lash!

O my people.

I it was who led you forth from Egypt and buried Pharaoh in the sea, and now you have betrayed me to the priests and rulers.

I divided for you the waves of the sea, and now you have opened my side with a lance.

I went before you in a column of fire, and you have brought me to Pilate's Prætorium.

* The "Impropria" or "Reproaches" are the prayers said by the sacred ministers and sung by the choir during the Adoration of the Cross.

Ego te pavi manna per desertum,
et tu me cecidisti alapis et flagellis.

Ego te potavi aqua salutis de
petra, et tu me potasti felle et aceto.

Ego propter te Chananæorum
reges percussi, et tu percussisti
arundine caput meum.

Ego dedi tibi sceptrum regale, et
tu dedisti capite meo spineam
coronam.

Ego te exaltavi magna virtute, et
tu me suspendisti in patibulo
crucis.

Popule meus, quid feci tibi? aut
in quo contristavi te?

I gave you manna in the desert,
and you have struck me with
blows and whips.

I gave you life-giving water
from the rock, and you have
brought me gall in vinegar to drink.

For your sake did I crush the
leaders of the Canaanites, and
you with a reed have struck my
brow.

I gave you a royal sceptre, and
you with thorns have crowned my
brow.

I raised you up in power and
strength, and you have hung me
on the gibbet of the Cross.

O my people, how have I wronged
you? how have I saddened you?

Let me be sparing, however, in my quotations. It would be impossible to give examples from all parts of the ritual bearing this dramatic stamp. We may adduce as a final instance the Lamentations of Jeremias, sung in the Matins for the last three days of Holy Week, and the "*Victimæ Paschalis*," the sequence of the Easter Sunday Mass, which will be found amply to illustrate the principle which has been laid down.

As yet we have taken a somewhat superficial glance at the Church's great services, but the analysis which I now propose to make will enable us to realise their beauty the more. We may select, therefore, the blessing and distribution of palms, in which ceremony the triumphal entry into Jerusalem is commemorated. Now, had this compilation been entrusted to the Reformers of the sixteenth century—the authors, that is, of the "*Prayer-Book*"—it would have been announced to the faithful by a frigid, puritanical exhortation dilating on the object and character of the festival. I read the following, for instance, in the Communion Service as given in the first *Prayer-Book* of Edward VI.:

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, must consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that bread

and drink of that cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a truly penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy Sacrament; (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; and we are made one with Christ and Christ with us;) so is the danger great if we receive the same unworthily. For then we become guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering our Lord's body; we kindle God's wrath over us; we provoke him to plague us with diverse diseases, and sundry kinds of death. Therefore if any here be a blasphemer, advouterer, or be in malice or envy, or in any other grievous crime, (except he be truly sorry therefore, and earnestly minded to leave the same vices, and do trust himself to be reconciled to Almighty God, and in charity with all the world,) let him bewail his sins and not come to that holy table, lest after taking of that blessed bread, the Devil enter into him as he did into Judas, to fill him full of iniquity, and bring him to destruction, both of soul and body. Judge therefore yourselves, (brethren) that ye be not judged of the Lord. Let your mind be without desire to sin; repent ye truly of your past sins; have an earnest and lively faith in Christ our Saviour; be ye in perfect charity with all men; so shall ye be meet partakers of all those holy mysteries. And above all things ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, who did humble himself even to the death of the cross for us miserable sinners; which lay in the darkness and shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should always remember the exceeding love of our Master, and only Saviour, Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which (by his precious blood-shedding) he hath obtained to us; he hath left in those holy mysteries, as a pledge of his love and continual remembrance of the same, his own blessed body and precious blood for us to feed upon spiritually to our endless comfort and consolation. To him therefore, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks; submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. Amen.*

But compare this with what the Church does. A chorus after the manner of a Greek tragedy opens the service by singing in noble simplicity the praises of the hero:

Hosanna Filio David: Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. O Rex Israel, hosanna in excelsis!

Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the King. O King of Israel, hosanna in the highest!

* "The Two Books of Common Prayer of Edward VI. Compared," p. 273. Edited by Edward Cardwell. Oxford. 1838.

After the first choral ode the celebrant asks the blessing of God upon the commemoration of the Passion which is about to commence, and in the lesson from Exodus, which follows, a hint as to the object of the celebration is given. It is the story of the promise of complete redemption made by God to the Israelites under the palm-trees at Elim. Herein is contained the type the fulfilment of which is about to engage our attention. And now the chorus once more approaches, and brings us nearer to the truth by recounting the conspiracy of the Jews and the prophecy of Caiphas :

Et collegerunt Pontifices et Pharisei concilium et dixerunt. "Quid facimus quia hic homo multa signa facit. Si dimittimus eum sic omnes credent in eum, et venient Romani et tollent nostrum locum et gentem?" Unus autem ex illis, Caiphas nomine, cum esset pontifex illius anni prophetavit dicens: "Expedi vobis ut unus moriatur homo pro populo, et non tota gens pereat."

Then the High Priests and Pharisees gathered together in council, and they said: "What shall we do, for this man has wrought many wonders? If we hinder him not all men will believe in him, and the Romans will come and deprive us of our power and nation." One of them, however, Caiphas by name, the High Priest for that year, rose up and spake in prophesy: "It is well for us that one man should die for the people, that the whole nation may not perish."

Finally, the deacon completely unfolds the nature of the day's celebration by chanting the Gospel which records the triumphant entry of Jesus into the Holy City, and the joyous song with which it was accompanied. Of the actual blessing and distribution of palms I need say nothing here; the prayers are beautiful in allusion and force of expression, which those of a later date rarely exhibit. When this ceremony is concluded the scene of Christ's triumph is actually represented. Here, again, the dramatic spirit is sustained, for the opening chorus, beginning with the account of our Saviour's sending two Disciples to Bethania for the ass on which to ride, records in language almost lyrical in its beauty the joyous reception with which He was welcomed all along the way:

Cum audisset populus quia Jesus venit Jerosolymam, acceperunt ra-

And when the people heard that Jesus was approaching Jerusalem

mos palmarum, et exierunt ei obviam et clamabant pueri dicentes: "Hic est qui venturus est in salutem populi, Hic est salus nostra et redemptio Israel. Quantus est iste cui Throni et Dominationes occurrunt? Noli timere, filia Sion, ecce rex tuus venit tibi, sedens super pullum asinæ, sicut scriptum est: Salve, rex, fabricator mundi, qui venisti redimere nos."

Occurrunt turbæ cum floribus et palmis Redemptori obviam, et victori triumphanti digna dant obsequia.

Filium Dei ore gentes prædicant et in laudem Christi voces tonant per nubila, "Hosanna in excelsis!"

As the procession returns the church door is found to be locked, as heaven was barred to fallen man. The cantors within commence the opening verses of the "Gloria, laus, et honor," which is taken up by the procession without, and sung in alternating verses to the end. At the conclusion the sub-deacon strikes the door with the staff of the cross, emblematical of the Cross of Christ which opened the gates of heaven to man. The doors fly back and the procession enters the church once more, while the choir recounts our Saviour's entry into Jerusalem:

Ingrediente Domino in sanctam civitatem, Hebræorum pueri resurrectionem vitæ pronuntiantes cum ramis palmarum Hosanna clamabant in excelsis.

they went forth to meet Him with palm branches in their hands, and the children cried out: "This is He that was to come amongst us for our salvation. He is our pledge of safety, He the redemption of Israel. O Greatness before whom thrones and dominations bow! Fear not, daughter of Sion, see thy King as He comes to you seated on the colt of an ass, as it is written: Hail, king and maker of the world, who hast come to redeem us."

Forth come the crowds to meet their Saviour with garlands and palms, and they pay homage to Him as to a conqueror in his hour of triumph.

The nations praise the Son of the Most High, and a song of benediction thunders to the skies, "Hosanna in the highest!"

And as the Lord entered into the Holy City, the Jewish children proclaimed Him to be the resurrection and the life, coming forth to meet Him with palms, and crying Hosanna in the highest!

The chanting of the Sacred Passion on Sunday and Friday of Holy Week surpasses all this in the sublimity of representative effect. The three interlocutors, each with his own beau-

tiful and appropriate cadence, give to the whole a dramatic power worthy of ancient tragedy. The "narrator" is clear, distinct, and but slightly modulated; the "chronista" almost colloquial; the "Christus" slow, grave, and solemn; and then there is the chorus, which represents the vicious outcries of a fanatical mob. I shall not attempt to describe the chanting of the Passion; the reader must hear it and appreciate it for himself, and he will, I think, agree that the principle of deep dramatic design which pervades it is far more calculated to produce a devout impression on the soul than any mere recital of the events chronicled could possibly inspire.

My object in writing this paper was to show that the Liturgy of the Church is alike deeply religious and truly dramatic, to prove that the one may sanctify the other and at the same time become beautified by it, and finally to open up a new and most fruitful field of study which will repay the labour it demands.

EDWARD KING, S.J.

ART. IV.—THE LAST STUART PRINCESS.

IN November, 1691, shortly after the return of James II. to St. Germain's from his disastrous campaign in Ireland, a ray of pale light illumined his cloud-hung horizon in the news that the queen, Mary Beatrice of Modena, was about to become a mother once more. It was news of the utmost importance. Hopeless as the King's prospect seemed, it lifted the clouds. Had not the grand pretext for rebellion been that he had sought fraudulently to exclude his daughters and nephew from the succession by the intrusion of a supposititious heir in their places : and was not the child pronounced to be supposititious because it was a physical impossibility that any more children should be born to the King and Queen ? Here was proof that the theory of impossibility had been all too lightly accepted, and James eagerly seized this opportunity to prove to the world that the coming child was genuine beyond all possibility of suspicion. The Queen's condition was publicly announced on January 7, 1692. The King sent invitations to all members of the English Privy Council, to all the great Officers of State, to all the great ladies whose right it was to be present at the Queen's *accouchement* ; to the Lady Mayoress of London, to the wives of the sheriffs, even to the Princess of Orange ; promising to all the safe conduct of the King of France, with whom the English Government was then at war. These invitations were not accepted. The Prince of Orange took all possible pains to prevent the letters from reaching their adresses, and was so far from reciprocating the courtesy of the proffered safe-conduct that, whether they wished it or not, nobody dared run the risk of the journey, any more than dare the certainty of the displeasure of the Prince and Princess of Orange.*

In March, the Queen retired into the privacy of her own apartments, according to the ancient custom of the Queens of England ; glad of a plea so readily approved at a court where etiquette was more than a religion, to abstain from the gaieties and ceremonies of Versailles, where the eager sympathy

* "Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick," ii. p. 277.

and warm respect of Louis XIV. gave her a place far too conspicuous to accord with her sad heart.

She was in unusually wretched spirits. Her husband, so passionately loved for all his twenty-five years of seniority, was preparing again to risk his life by invading England to do battle for his crown. On April 21 he left for Normandy; only to witness, after a month of weary waiting, the total destruction at La Hogue of the French fleet on which his fortunes were embarked. Success had seemed almost a certainty, and disappointment was proportionately bitter. He had been assured of Marlborough's repentance and return to allegiance, and Marlborough meant Marlborough's wife and her friend the Princess Anne. The English Admiral, Russell, had secretly sympathised and corresponded with the exiled king, though when he met the French Admiral, Tourville, he was bound to beat him for the honour of England; as nobody knew better than the English-hearted King, whose cause he scattered to the winds; who himself forgot personal misfortune in patriotic pride, and shouted with enthusiasm to see his brave English sailors storm the French ships, whose ruin was his own.

After that hour of supreme exultation, he fell into the lethargic stupor to which he had been subject ever since the shock of his children's treason had ruptured a blood vessel in his head. He could not feel energy or interest enough in life to leave La Hogue. In vain the lonely Queen entreated him to return to her. She was utterly miserable, and he had nothing at all to do at La Hogue. As late as June 14 we find her complaining that in her delicate state of health she was left to make all arrangements for the daily-expected birth of their child. He must have returned that very day, for the Stuart Papers* date his return on June 1—a seeming contradiction of dates to be explained by the ever-bewildering muddle made by the Old Style and New Style; also by the extreme carelessness with which the Chaillot Papers are dated, and the great vagueness of dates in King James's memoirs and the Queen's letters.

On June 28, 1692, was born at St. Germain's the youngest daughter of that Royal House, whose annals were adorned by so many gracious women, so lovely, so beloved, yet so unhappy.

* Stuart Papers relating to Mary of Modena: from the Chaillot Papers. Two vols.

Born in exile, cradled in sorrow, her lullaby a lament for lost battles, doomed to "dree the weird" of her fated race by early death, hers is yet a bright figure against a gloomy background, a gracious, even a happy life.

Though the great folks of England left her arrival severely alone, there was a goodly show of French notabilities to welcome her to the very tearful vale of life which awaited her little feet. All the French princesses of the blood were present, except the dying Dauphiness, Marie Christine of Bavaria; all the great ladies of the French Court; the Archbishop of Paris, the President of the Parliament, and, with others, the Danish Ambassadors, selected as a hostile witness, the country she represented being allied with the Prince of Orange.

The King had confidently expected another son, but the moment he saw his daughter his lethargy gave way. He welcomed her with fervent caresses. "See what consolation God has given us in our exile," he cried. "Now I have a daughter who has never sinned against me!"

She was baptized with great pomp in the Chapel Royal at St. Germain's. Louis XIV. hastened from the siege of Mons to stand her godfather. Her godmother was the Duchess of Orleans. She received the names of Louisa Mary.* She was dressed for the ceremony according to English etiquette, in royal robes of State, velvet and ermine, with shoes and stockings on her tiny feet—to the astonishment of the French ladies, who were accustomed to dress their babies in swaddling clothes even on occasions of highest state.

She came at least into a rich inheritance of love: to share with her little brother the devotion of the most affectionate of parents, whose hearts had been left empty and aching not only by filial ingratitude, but by a long series of dead babes who had come and gone like little sorrowful ghosts. From her infancy the Queen gave the most careful supervision to her training. Lady Strafford was appointed her first State governess, to be succeeded on her death by Lady Middleton, a grave, wise, and pious lady, a Catholic, though her husband was then a Protestant. The incidents of her baby life are lovingly chronicled by

* The name of Theresa is sometimes added by historians, but not upon any authority. She signs her name "Louise Marie," and so she is mentioned in her father's will.

the Queen in her letters to her friends, the nuns of Chaillot : how her little colds and toothaches and other troubles went and came ; how she fell on her little nose and bruised it black ; how, on the day that her brother put on a periwig for the first time, the Princess discarded her pinafore. She was a healthy child ; her little ailments were never serious, while her brother was extremely delicate, frequently at death's very door. The children had a little chapel of their own in the palace, where the King and Queen used to pray when the Prince lay ill of those severe " fevers " by which his precious life was so constantly imperilled, and to return thanks when he was restored to health.

On June 7, 1700, the Queen writes to the nuns of changes she has been making with great care in her little daughter's household :

I have at last found a woman of about fifty years of age, well-born and well-bred, who, I believe, will answer well. . . . Pray for me that God may teach me always what I ought to do for the dear children He has given to me, that I may give them back to Him every day of my life, dedicating them to His love and service.

There were troops of children about the palace, of whom the King and Queen were very fond ; plenty of play and laughter for the little prince and princess ; but the sorrows of their elders must have chilled their spirits in spite of all the care taken to brighten their young lives. Beneath the joyous sanity of Louisa's temperament, there seems to have run a vein of imaginativeness which, in a less healthy body and under less loving care, might have deepened into mysticism or hereditary melancholy. It was impossible to hide from her all the anxieties that were in the air around her, and, though only four years old, she knew all about her father's anxious journey to Calais in 1696—too heavy a burden for a little heart to carry ; for she dreamt he returned in a blue cloak, though he had left in a red one, and said to her, " This must be my England." They were not spared the knowledge of the pinch of poverty. In 1694 want of money had been so distressing at St Germain's that the Queen had to sell many of her jewels. The French King did his best for them, but his own finances were nearly exhausted, and he obtained the less advantageous terms from the Treaty of Ryswick because of his generous refusal to banish

his unfortunate relatives from St. Germain's. To the extreme distress of James II., he was compelled to disband his household troops, the brave soldiers who had fought at Killiecrankie and the Boyne, and send them to seek employment in foreign service.

The King and Queen perfectly stripped themselves to give to their unfortunate adherents. They taught their children to share in their cares by caring for those who had suffered in their cause. The Princess, in passionate sympathy, refused to buy toys out of her little means that she might pay for the education of the children of British emigrants.

She early developed that bright strength of character which so graciously distinguishes the Stuart women. She was far cleverer than her brother, with whom, had their natures been less sweet and less wisely trained, she might have been placed in painful competition.

She had a naturally engaging manner, which the Prince's governor urged upon him to imitate. He was gentle and shy, while she possessed a ready wit* and a quick, passionate temperament, tenderly schooled by her parents, whose correction she took sweetly and uncomplainingly. She was particularly fond of dancing, and quickly learned all the accomplishments in fashion. She also learned English, Italian, French, and the rudiments of Latin: the last because her parents wished her to understand the language of the Church, though she did not go on with it after the death of her tutor, Father Constable, a Jesuit.† She wrote a Latin letter to them when they were absent at the waters of Bourbon—the sort of childish exercise which delights the parental heart in spite of the knowledge that the composition must not be accredited to the darling copyist. Her ordinary letters in French are written by her tutor, usually Caryll, the Queen's private secretary—signed only in her own childish, shaky, blotty hand. But, though the secretary provided the formal phrases, we can hear the little princess's eager voice dictating or suggesting out of her full, loving heart.

* "One of the most compleat young ladies of her time, very witty and handsome," writes Fr. Sanders, S.J. Lady Bulkeley also writes of her wit. Rawlinson MSS. Bodleian Library.

† Stuart Papers relating to Mary of Modena.

I am at present quite well, but I was very tired after my journey. . . . I desire extremely your Majesty's return, which I hope will be to-morrow evening, between seven and eight o'clock. . . . I cannot help writing to your Majesty this evening. It is only my body which is here, for my heart is at Chaillot at your feet, too happy if I may flatter myself that your Majesty may have thought one moment this evening of your poor daughter, who can think of nothing but you. . . .

She trembles with fear lest I should go away—

writes the Queen in 1702.

When, on August 12, 1700, the Princess Anne's only surviving child, the little Duke of Gloucester, died, the position of the exiled Prince and Princess was immensely improved. Numbers of travelling English, who had hitherto passed by on the other side of Paris, now paid their respects at St. Germain's. There was a foolish, though firm, conviction in many minds that, though the King and the Prince of Wales must be renounced as hopeless Catholics, the Princess would be sent for by her now childless half-sister,* recognised as her heiress, brought up a Protestant, and married to a Protestant prince. Why her conversion appeared to be so much more feasible than her brother's, and how her parents should have spared her so easily to oust him from his right, it were vain to guess. All the old pain of bereavement was sweetened by the thought of all their lost babes safe in heaven from the greedy reach of heresy.† "You see that none will live until we can bring them up in the true religion," King James used to say when one little life after another fluttered out; for the sorrow of the risk of their lapsing into Protestantism was keener than the pain of childlessness.

There is a beautiful picture of the little Prince and Princess by Largillière, now in the National Portrait Gallery, bequeathed by Lord Orford. The Prince is about eleven years old, and wears his Star and Garter. The little Princess, though only seven, wears her pretty fair hair hidden under the stiff cornette then fashionable, unbecoming even to the mature beauty of her mother. Another portrait is mentioned in one of Rodd's catalogues, 1827: "Mary Louisa, daughter of King James II., by

* Anne herself had some such idea, according to the Jacobite correspondence in 1712, Carte MSS.

† So the Queen told the nuns at Chaillot.

Laroon. On canvas, 50 inches by 40. Whole length : while young, resting her hand upon a lamb, with parrot, etc., in the back-ground : doubtful : £5 5s." Lord Dartmouth, in his notes to Burnett's "*History of His Own Time*," mentions a print of her with her brother in another of Rodd's catalogues. Still more interesting is the portrait of the Princess by H. Rigaud, the property of Walter Charles Strickland, Esq., J.P., D.L., of Sizergh Castle, Westmoreland. It was presented by Queen Mary Beatrice to her faithful friend, Lady Strickland. It is three-quarter length, 54 inches by 42. The Princess wears a white gown trimmed with gold, and a red robe. She is plucking a spray of orange blossom with her right hand. This portrait was offered for sale at Christie's auction rooms on July 18, 1896, but, as the bidding did not reach the reserve price, it returned to its old home and fortunate possessor.*

Another portrait, the property of Mr. Howard, of Corby Castle, shows us a lovely child of about twelve years old, with her mother's great dark eyes, wearing a low blue dress and flowers in her hair, and holding a bouquet. Size of canvas 28 by 23 inches. A photograph of this picture may be seen at the stall at the South Kensington Museum.

In March, 1701, the king fell seriously ill of the sanguineous apoplexy, which had been threatening him since 1688, and in April his devoted wife accompanied him to the Waters of Bourbon in vain quest of a cure. The children were left behind in the charge of the Duke of Perth and Lady Middleton, and sent frequent and cheerful letters to their parents, which are still preserved in the archives of France. The nuns of Chaillot looked after them from a distance, and sent them presents of fruit and sweets, which they acknowledged by gracious little visits.

The King and Queen returned in time for the children's birthdays, June 2† and 28. As soon as their mother was restored to them they took the opportunity to catch colds, and the poor Queen, who had been nursing her husband since March, was kept going from one to the other all day long. The dread-

* Miss Strickland mentions this portrait, and describes the Princess as rather like her sister Mary of Orange, but less coarse. There are many portraits at the Convent of Chaillot.

† The King's birthday (June 10) was always kept on the N.S. date in France and Italy.

ful malady of cancer in the breast had already been some months upon her, but she never gave a thought to her own pain and weakness to spare herself the least fatigue, when her husband and children claimed her care.

On Friday, September 2, the King was seized in chapel with another fainting fit. It was the end, which he recognised with joyful resignation. Life, as he said, had been for him a sea of storm and tempests, and his one earthly concern was for the grief of his weeping Queen. He sent for his children to bless them, and bid them farewell. The Prince of Wales came first. He burst into tears at the sight of his father, pallid with approaching death, covered with the blood of his hæmorrhage. He spoke much and earnestly to the boy, adjuring him to be true to the Catholic faith whatever might happen; to be faithful to God, respectful and obedient to the queen, and ever grateful to the French king; to remember that kings are not made for themselves, but for the good of their people.*

Then the little Princess was brought in, bathed in tears, to be blessed and bidden to grow up like her mother—the best of women.† On September 6 (16) the evil days of King James's pilgrimage were accomplished, and the gentlemen of his household, with his brave and loyal son, James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick, went straight to bend their faithful knees to the young Prince of Wales as their lawful Sovereign, James III. of England and VIII. of Scotland.

The Queen found in her children's training so much need for her love and care that her life was as full as it had been while her husband lived. She was in wretched health. She suffered from sleeplessness, and had always with her the anguish and dread of her deadly disease. The prospect of death troubled her only by fears for her children's helplessness when she should be taken from them.

The brave patience with which she toiled and planned for them is nothing less than marvellous. She was Regent for her thirteen-year-old son—a position, if anything, the more anxious when the king has no kingdom to govern. The well-meaning

* This expression is put into James's mouth (see "Somers Tracts," vol. xi. p. 342), but it is also, and with greater probability, ascribed to the Dauphin Louis, Duke of Burgundy, addressed to his royal grandfather.

† Somers Tracts. Stuart Papers, ii. 338.

but ignorant or foolish plotters around her were really more dangerous than declared enemies. Jealousies among real and professed friends were to be soothed and guarded against. Wild rumours were whispered in her ear by Lord Lovat and others of her daughter being set up as a rival to her son by Lord Arran, afterwards Duke of Hamilton, who purposed to revive the old Hamilton pretensions to the Scottish Crown and to strengthen that claim by the marriage of his son and heir to the Princess Louisa.

The Queen sacrificed not only her health but her distaste for courtly gaieties that the lives of her poor children might be as bright as could be. She cared little for crowns for herself and her children. She had been on the point of becoming a nun when the elderly Duke of York sought her in marriage, and the air of the cloister hung always about her. She had never wished to be a queen, and had too deeply mourned her much-loved brother-in-law, Charles II., to care for the dignity purchased by his death.* The great relief and refreshment of her difficult life was to visit the Nuns of the Visitation in their convent at Chaillot, founded by Queen Henrietta Maria. To the Reverend Mother Priolo, and to the Ex-superior (*La Déposée*), Mother Angelique de Beauvais, she poured out all the confidences of her warm, lonely heart, apologising sometimes that her impatient children teased her to finish. When she was quite incapacitated by illness from visiting Chaillot, she would send her little daughter "with her heart and spirit." She believed herself many times near death. She writes on the occasion of one of her recoveries that she is going to attempt the journey to Fontainebleau by water for her daughter's sake; it would be the last time in her life, even if her life should be prolonged.

The Princess, dreading nothing so much as to be parted from her mother, often entreated permission to accompany her to Chaillot. These sojourns bored the child, though she hid her weariness out of love for her mother.

Austere as Mary Beatrice was towards herself, she was gentle and wise in regulating her daughter's religious training. Abstinence from flesh-meat was so irksome to the Princess

* Stuart Papers relating to Mary of Modena—Chaillot.

that her mother did not urge it upon her, mindful of her own mother's strictness in that particular, which invariably sent her from the table in tears. The Duchess of Modena was also wont to box her daughter's ears because she always forgot a certain verse of the psalm *Benedixisti* when saying Office. Mary Beatrice had also been forbidden to eat any sort of sweets, and here again she learnt leniency for her method with her own children ; for, though they were not in the least greedy, she knew that sweets, if forbidden, would be given to them surreptitiously, thus teaching them deceit, which she held in far greater horror than a little self-indulgence. She also allowed them perfect liberty in their choice of confessors. Her own director was Father Ruga, an Italian, but the children went to Father Saunders, of the Society of Jesus, who had been the late King's confessor. The Queen, in her heart, disliked the Jesuits, mindful of her old enemy, Father Petre, whose counsels had mainly helped to upset her husband's throne, though she did her best to be tolerant and charitable, and declared that she harboured no ill-will to them, and would not condemn a whole society because of the sins of one member.

When the Princess was eleven years old, she made her first Communion. Father Constable was her instructor in religious knowledge, and had prepared her for confirmation at a very early age. He taught her to study the Holy Scriptures, especially the Old Testament types of our Lord. He also taught her Roman and Modern History and poetry.

So, in spite of exile and poverty, of the weary disappointments and heart-breaking anxieties that made heavy the atmosphere of St. Germain's, it was a happy enough life that was made for the young Princess and her playfellows, for whom the name of exile had but little meaning, unless it stood for more plenteous sunshine and gayer customs than were suggested by traditions of St. James's. After the death of James II. the court cheered up. His sad face, his cruel wrongs, and his terrible penances became legendary. Louis XIV. did his best to make up by warmest kindness and stateliest courtesy to the exiled family, for the more substantial sympathy he was unable to give. He treated the young King with all the consideration he had shown his father, only with the more tenderness because

of his youth. He received him at Versailles at the top of the Great Staircase, and always seated him at his right hand. The Queen and the Princess of England took precedence of all the French princesses of the blood, none of whom happened to be daughters of kings. Louis made a point of standing while James danced, until the queen implored him to be seated. He took him boar-hunting and stag-hunting at Fontainebleau, and made stately feasts in his honour at Versailles and Marly.

During the Carnival of 1705 the Princess Louisa made her first appearance at the French Court, where she won universal admiration, and danced the first minuet with the King. On July 3 of that year there was a little water-picnic at Marly, when King James and his sister and the other young people left their elders at the palace and sailed over the lake to the menagerie, where they supped with an entire absence of ceremony that must have been truly delightful to those etiquette-ridden young souls—no *fauteuils*, which were instruments of torture rather than appliances of ease, so numerous and complex were the rules and ceremonies by which their use was regulated; no *cadenas*, which were only little trays set on the table before super-exalted personages, with salt, oil, and other such small condiments, but of which the courtly chroniclers speak as solemnly as if they were regalia. After supper, the young people danced to their own singing, and played at games, and sailed back at half-past ten of the sweet summer night, to the *fauteuils* and the *cadenas* and the majesty.

There was a great ball at Marly in the same month, at which the English royalties were present. In the following March the King, Queen, Princess, and Court were entertained by King Louis at Marly with a lottery, but no supper was given as it was Passion Week. The French King presented little silver toys for prizes, and hardly any one drew blanks.

On March 7, 1708, King James left St. Germain upon his first abortive expedition to Scotland. The Princess was ill of measles, and was not allowed to bid her brother farewell, though, as was presently discovered, he had already caught the infection. He returned somewhere between the end of April and the middle of May—the various chroniclers give the most various and contradictory dates. He certainly left again to make his first campaign in Flanders with his cousins, the Dukes

of Burgundy and Berry, on May 14. During his absence, the Queen and her daughter stayed chiefly at Chaillot.

We have a delightful series of pictures of the exiled court in the letters of Count Anthony Hamilton, brother of the beautiful Duchesse de Grammont, written to the Duke of Berwick, absent on active service in Spain and Flanders. Among his poems, the gayest and daintiest of *vers de société*, are three sets of verses addressed to the Princess; songs of their sylvan sports, written at her royal command; birthday congratulations, verses lamenting her absences at Chaillot, and envying that favourite spot. He describes her beauty with enthusiasm; the adorable plumpness of sixteen, her complexion like spring flowers, her freshness as of the dawn, her splendid hair of the loveliest nut-brown tint, and her exquisite arms. Sorry as one is to discover it, Miss Strickland was mistaken in assuming that she was the "Mademoiselle" of that gay pilgrimage described by Anthony Hamilton, when the court ladies, headed by the fair Nanette—Anne Bulkeley, the Duke of Berwick's second wife—sallied forth to the shrine of Saint Thibaut in the forest of St. Germain, to pray the saint to cure Dicconson, the queen's secretary, of ague. The Princess of England is never "Mademoiselle" to Anthony Hamilton or to any of the court, but "*Madame la Princesse*," or "Her Royal Highness." The "Mademoiselle" of whom Hamilton writes so much and so enthusiastically was Henrietta Bulkeley, the Duchess of Berwick's sister. Sometimes he writes of his niece, Mademoiselle Marmier, also as "Mamzelle."

He describes how the ladies of the court, during the "deep repose" of winter, when pilgrimages and strawberry feasts, haymaking and boating parties were over, occupied themselves by simple domestic industries: repaired their *fabalas*, ironed their laces, hung their newly washed cornettes on strings in Berwick's garden, and then rested from their labours in "sweet reveries" upon tapestried sofas. Berwick, known in the home circle by the nickname of *Brochet* (pike), had complained of his royal half-sister's neglect as a correspondent.

"It seems to me," Hamilton says, consolingly, "that you have a special and distinguished place in those favours with which she charms everyone. I cannot answer for your having kept it, for I can assure you that she has never spoken of you since your departure, as far as I know.

It is just possible that a certain grandson of Lady Strickland's may have put your nose out of joint (probably a new baby); for though he is not nearly so big as you are, nor so famous for military exploits, he is very much the fashion at this Court. I have two plans to recommend to you for winning back Her Highness's favour; one is that you should drop your name of *Brochet*, for she has no fancy for fish. The other is, to learn when you return a dance which she has composed, called *Les quatre Faces*. It is a dance which seems made for you, because you must hold yourself as straight as a pike and make nine pirouettes to the right and eight to the left all in a breath. In one part of the dance, where it is like the cotillon, you have to jump only fifteen times in succession and only five feet high. At least, that is how I have seen it danced by Her Royal Highness."

The absent warrior is also entertained by his lively correspondent with an account of how his Nanette and the others cheerfully played at his having hanged himself: how they wept for him for seven or eight minutes, and then set to writing epitaphs upon him. "The countess" bit the nails of her left hand while she wrote with the other her epitaph upon "The tenderest of Brochets:" bidding those who visited his tomb to pray for his soul, but not to seek his ashes, for he never possessed anything but fish-bones. Then St. John was sent to fetch them a haycock to represent the tomb, and they performed around it all the ceremonies described in the "Iliad" as of use at the burial of a hero.

So the young exiles amused themselves, recking little of wars and treasons, and the Princess grew up towards womanhood, lovely, loving and beloved: fond of gaiety as a healthy girl should be, though she so regretfully acknowledged to her dear friend, Sister Marguerite Henriette, that after her introduction to the gaities of Versailles she lost her early pleasure in piety. The adorable plumpness so admired by Anthony Hamilton soon disappeared, for we see her a slender stately girl of nineteen in a portrait at Windsor, engraved by Chereau after a painting by A. S. Belle, and reproduced in "*Les derniers Stuarts*," by Campana di Cavelli.* She has here the fine straight nose, and high slightly receding forehead of Mary Queen of Scots, repeated in Prince Charles Edward. This

* Prints of the same are in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery at Edinburgh.

likeness was declared by the Queen to be as striking as it was beautiful.

The graceful caressing manners which all who knew her praise were the outcome of a warm true heart. Dancing seems to have been her favourite exercise, for her brother, like her father, had a craze against seeing women riding, and, indeed, the poor Princess was dependent on the kindness of the French royal family for an occasional mount. A true daughter of the Stuarts, she was a huntress to the core. She once fell from her horse at one of the royal hunts, galloping after a hare. Regardless of a broken nose and the blood that covered her face, she astonished an equerry, who came to her assistance, by asking eagerly if the hare was caught.

She loved the play. The queen was troubled in her mind as to whether so much theatre-going was good for her children, though her own very strict mother had had no scruples on that score. She consulted Father Ruga, who referred her to Father Saunders, the Confessor of the young people, who did not object. She also consulted Bourdaloue, who recommended abstinence until they should be older, and that then they should try the less dangerous pieces. "For myself, I never understood or noticed any harm," said the innocent Queen, whose experiences were of the Restoration drama. Truly, to the pure all things are pure!

She therefore exerted herself to accompany Louise to her plays and dances and rarely allowed her to go out of her sight, and the Princess was as loth to lose her mother's society. Once she was permitted to visit Paris *incognito* with her governess, Lady Middleton, to dine with Lady Middleton's daughter, Lady Rothés. Her bright presence left a dreary blank behind. "It must be owned we miss my daughter very much," sighed the Queen, at her lonely meal. She dreaded the unhealthy air of Paris for the girl, though she was strong. Her brother's delicacy made her life doubly precious.

Adelaide of Savoy, Duchess of Burgundy, granddaughter of of Henrietta Stuart, Duchess of Orleans, and therefore first cousin once removed of the king and the princess, was one of the dearest friends of the English royal family. The Duchesse de Grammont, *née* Hamilton, had a pretty château at Moulinsau on the Seine, which she re-christened "Pontalie." This

was a favourite meeting place of the Duchess of Burgundy and Princess Louisa, whom she constantly entertained there.

It must be regretted that though we have so many recorded speeches and so many letters of the Princess, we have so little of herself in them. There is a collection of her letters in the British Museum,* addressed to Cardinal Gualterio, but they are short and formal and only the signatures are in her own hand: thanks for his New Year's greetings; condolence on the death of his mother; an introduction of Mrs. Goddard and her daughter to him for augmentation of their pension; congratulations on his being appointed Protector of England, October 26, 1711. Her sayings come to us through the channel of the Chaillot nuns, who "edited" her chatter with the formal priggishness which they held to be the fitting expression of royalty. They were chroniclers heavily hampered by courtly tradition, besides the usual tendencies to literary primness combined with silly extravagances. One wonders in dismay, did princesses in their teens, even in the early eighteenth century, really talk in such Johnsonian sentences, interspersed with pedantic quotations and Joseph Surface sentiments. Then we turn to the frankly unconstrained, womanly letters of her mother, the gay, happily expressed letters of her brother, the merrily graceful letters of Anthony Hamilton, any of which might have been written by the pleasantest correspondents of to-day, save for a very few over-sentimental figures of speech such as Hamilton's "nymphs," and we mourn the foolish affectations of the chroniclers and long to hear Louisa Stuart speak for herself.

There is little else to record of those quiet years of 1708, 1709, and 1710, spent between St. Germain's and Chaillot while the King was gathering laurels at Oudenarde and Malplaquet. Each of these years he left for Flanders and returned more or less invalided, though, save for those temporary "fevers" and agues, his health was on the whole much better than it had been at St. Germain's. He was happier, too, in the stir of the French camp. The mild amusements and narrow interests of St. Germain's that were pleasant enough for his home-bird sister chafed and worried the young man's eager spirit.

* Add. MSS., 20, 3.

In 1710 a great sorrow befell this poor young princess, rarely fitted as she was by birth and character to win the very best of love and honour that the world can give. In 1708, when her brother's prospects were brightening and she was sixteen, a royal lover came to St. Germain's, Charles, Duke of Berry, the youngest, handsomest and favourite of the three grandsons of Louis XIV., a very fair, sweet-mannered young man, terribly in awe of his august grandfather; not conspicuously devout, but hating the fashionable cant of irreligion; not above moderately clever, but with good sense and wholly devoid of pride and vanity, though perfectly dignified. Such a suitor, irrespective of his great position (he was heir-presumptive to his second brother, Philip, King of Spain, at least), was gladly welcomed by the Queen and her daughter. But the Duchess of Orleans (*née* Mlle. de Blois, natural daughter of Louis XIV.) wanted him for her daughter, "Mademoiselle," who was debarred by that baton in her pedigree from marrying a German prince. There was bitter opposition at the French Court, also, to the idea of a Berry-Orleans marriage. The Duke de St. Simon, who was anxiously consulted in the matter by the Duchess of Orleans, records the sad little love-story. For two years the affair went on without any decisive result. Then on July 6, 1710, the Duke of Berry was married to his cousin Mademoiselle, one of the most infamous persons who ever disgraced a royal house.

The Queen and the Princess were broken-hearted. The King of France treated them with the greatest consideration and sympathy; spared them the pain of attendance at the wedding, and commanded that they should be received next day upon their visit of ceremony to the Court with all possible state and splendour.

The King returned from Flanders on September 17, out of health and spirits. He went straight to Chaillot to see his mother, who was ill and unable to leave the convent,* and on the 19th, he took his sister back to St. Germain's. She wrote to her mother on her arrival, one of those letters whose warm love glows through the all severe formality of the address:

* So early as June, 1710, the Queen writes of this illness. The King also was ailing then, but the Princess was in the best of health and bathing twice a week, which greatly benefited her.—Chaillot Papers.

I should be most distressed if I were to go to bed without writing to your majesty, since having the misfortune to be separated from you, my only comfort is in writing to you. It makes me still sadder that you should have had the kindness to write to me and say that you have been unable to take any pleasure or even to eat for thinking of my absences which I cannot think of without tears, being so unworthy of all your goodness for me. We arrived before half-past eight. They told the king that Madame * had been here this afternoon. I found Lady Middleton in full dress and she wished to attend at supper.

The year 1711 brought sorrow upon sorrow to the royal families of England and France. On April 14 died Louis the Dauphin, only son of Louis XIV. Lightly described as a nonentity by those who knew him little, he was really a man who had quite worthily filled a place which was rich with opportunities for every sort of evil; a place which, high as it was, was dwarfed into practical insignificance by the overwhelming magnificence of the King. The Duke of Berwick describes him as a man of moderate talent, but a very good prince, full of sense, always attentive and dutiful to his father, meddling in nothing against the King's wish. No king ever had a better son. Quiet and unobtrusive as he was, he had some influence with his father, and it was his opinion which decided Louis XIV. to proclaim James III. King of England on his father's death. His influence failed when he opposed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His son, the Duke of Burgundy, who became Dauphin in his place, born of the most passionate and terrible nature, had become a religious, charitable, and in every way a most excellent prince under the careful training of Fénelon. He was slightly deformed, leaning to one side, which showed more conspicuously on horseback.

Other troubles were gathering thickly round the proud head of Louis XIV. Defeated and half-ruined, he was obliged to sue for peace and accept what terms the victorious Queen Anne of England might offer. It was insisted that, as a condition of peace, James III. should be banished from the French King's dominions. The Queen bore the news with patient dignity, the King with the sweet reasonableness that always characterised him; but the young Princess wept in passionate grief—she who, while the unknown future held hope, was so

* The Duchess of Orleans.

cheerful and so content not to see "the distant scene." "Pour moi, je suis ravie d'ignorer l'avenir," she told the nuns at Chaillot.*

In June the King went, on pretext of a tour round France, to visit and consult his wise and loyal half-brother, the Duke of Berwick, who at that time held a military command in Dauphiné. The Queen and her daughter spent the whole summer at Chaillot.

It was somewhat ominous that the Princess, who had loved the world so well—that bright, harmless side of it, which was all her careful mother allowed her to see; who had been so sadly bored by conventual routine and pious observances, began to take as much pleasure in prayers as she had taken in gaiety. In spite of her natural high spirits, she missed sharing none of the Queen's devotions, performing her own in addition. During those four months of retreat, she left the convent only once or twice. The French Court was in mourning for the Dauphin. It was an unhealthy summer, too, and the Queen was nervous about epidemics prevalent in and around Paris. They paid their annual visit to the Church of St. Edmund, belonging to the English Benedictines in Paris, on the late King's anniversary, September 6 (16), where James II. lay unburied, vainly awaiting translation to Westminster.

A little later, one wet September Saturday, there came a more cheerful break to the monotony of Chaillot. The new Dauphiness, Adelaide of Savoy, and the Duchess of Berry paid a surprise visit to the Queen at Chaillot, "to dig a poor old woman out of her convent," the Queen said; but it was no doubt also with the charitable object of digging out the poor young Princess. It was all a simple, girlish adventure; Louisa showed the Dauphiness all over the convent, even the *savonnerie*, with which the Dauphiness was highly delighted. Adelaide insisted that Louisa should attend a hunting party next day, and she made everything pleasant and comfortable for her in the most graceful way by lending her her own horse and a scarlet and gold habit, "to save the time required for having one made." She herself and the Duchess wore black and grey mourning habits.

* Chaillot Papers.

The Princess wept at parting from the Duchess of Berry, whose character, notorious as it was, must surely have been unknown to the Queen, else she could not have suffered her to come into the presence of her innocent daughter. Next day Louisa went to the hunt in the Bois de Boulogne, where she was greatly admired, not only by the Court, but by the crowds who came to look on at the hunt. She rode beautifully, though she had not been on horseback for two years, and every one was surprised to see her look so blooming after spending a whole summer in a convent, while all the world, in spite of Court mourning, was enjoying itself at Fontainebleau. She returned with Lady Middleton to Chaillot at nine in the evening, delighted with her day, full of the story of the hunt, and how the stag had had to swim in vain for its life.

The Queen talked much of her past life in those quiet days at Chaillot: of the splendours of her coronation, when she wore all the crown jewels of England and all the diamonds that could be borrowed from London jewellers, and how not one of them was lost, save a small diamond worth about forty shillings; of the kindness of King Charles and the happy first five years of her married life, before she and her beloved husband began their series of weary roamings into exile.

The Princess soon resigned herself to the last cruel stroke of fortune—the decree for her brother's banishment. She was very submissive and uncomplaining, and sweetly praised everything that was done for her, to the most trifling details.

It seems to me [she said] that those born, like myself, in misfortune are less to be pitied than others; they feel troubles less keenly, and can always hope; but otherwise their position is very sad, to pass the best part of their youth in hardship.

The Queen declared that she thanked God for having placed her children in their present condition, for their love of pleasure would otherwise have carried them too far; to which Louisa sadly assented.

Mary Beatrice still cared enough for her old beauty to be annoyed when the Duc de Lauzun presented the Princess with her mother's portrait set in diamonds, taken unawares by some "snapshotting" artist of the period. The Queen hated to see herself looking old and ugly, and wanted to send it back,

objecting also to receiving presents too valuable to be reciprocated in those days of dire poverty.

Poverty pinched, indeed, just then, and the poor proud queen was to be grievously wounded in the house of her friends. She had rented, ever since she came to France, a suite of rooms in the convent at a yearly rental of 3000 livres. For the first six years the rent had been punctually paid,* but from that time the resources of the royal family had been too terribly strained to make ends meet. Louis XIV. had done his best, but his means were far behind his generous sympathy. The Queen's dowry was unjustly and illegally kept back by the English Government. Every penny that could be spared from bare necessities of life went to support the colony of penniless Jacobites who hung about the Court. Besides those who had really fought and lost all for the King, there was a horde of idle loafers who had suffered nothing in the cause, yet who lived in idleness upon the royal bounty, and were the most unfortunate of all for relief.

We are reduced to such pitiable straits and live in so humble a way [writes Princess Louisa] that, even if it were the will of Heaven to restore us to our natural rank, we should not know how to play our parts with becoming dignity.

So the Queen's rent at Chaillot had got into dismal arrears. She was not a woman of business, and had really no idea how very high the figures were mounting until the abbess, who was a very sharp woman of business, and who understood perfectly well how the king's pecuniary prospects were affected by the Treaty of Utrecht, sent in her bill to her astounded tenant, with the information that to another tenant had been granted the queen's rooms.

Certainly the rooms referred to were only those occupied by the Princess, which opened out of her mother's suite, but the action was as cruel as if the Queen had been forbidden to return until the bill was paid. Madame de l'Orge and her daughter, ladies of great wealth and high rank, and relatives of Sister Louise of the Visitation and of the Duchess de Lauzun, required the Princess's room. Without so much as the bare courtesy of asking leave or even of informing the queen beforehand, the

* 18,000 and a promissory note.

abbess let the rooms to the De l'Orges, and not until they had taken possession and put in their furniture did the abbess deign to write to St. Germain's that the Princess of England and her ladies must remove to an upper floor.

It must be remembered that though the Queen had not paid her rent for fourteen years, a handsome, if unfixed, income had all this time poured into the convent from her purse. Her presents to servants and her offerings on birthdays, fêtes, etc., had been frequent and largely liberal. The demands of the nuns for new altar furniture and other costly *objets de piété* were incessant and importunate and never refused. Even when the demands were quite beyond the poor Queen's resources she was not let off. "I dare not tell you the state I am in for want of money," she writes when the nuns are coveting an expensive chalice veil; but she paid a sum down, the abbess "advancing" the remainder. They harassed her with persistent entreaties for her interest on their behalf with Madame de Maintenon—a request particularly unpleasant for the Queen to gratify, for Madame de Maintenon was much too jealous of King Louis's warm affection and admiration for Mary Beatrice to feel inclined to favour her *protégées*. It was a very wealthy convent. Founded by a Queen, the nuns were of the most illustrious birth, and handsomely dowered. Thousands, not specially vowed to charity and self-sacrifice, had cheerfully beggared themselves of lands and fortunes for the exiled family; but the nuns of Chaillot did not mean to suffer in their pockets for the sake of princesses who had lost all for the sake of their common faith, and whose chances of becoming more profitable patrons were dwindling away. "It is not for themselves: it is for the convent," say the rack-renting nuns; which is, of course, quite a different matter!

Reading those simple, affectionate letters of the Queen's, preserved in the Chaillot archives, and printed in the "Stuart Papers, relating chiefly to Mary of Modena," it strikes one sadly how much she gave in love and confidence alone, and how little she received in return: prayers handsomely paid for at the cost of all the little comforts so necessary for a delicate woman: presents of flowers, figs, salad, and other inexpensive garden produce, for which she returned the warmest, sweetest thanks.

Religion was a very real thing to those who had suffered many years of persecution and misrepresentation and lost three kingdoms for its sake; not an embellishment to conventional conversation. The rigid conscientiousness of James II., and the simple piety of his saintly Queen, shrank horrified from those flowers of speech in vogue at Chaillot. "We regret deeply that our prayers for your Majesty's success were not heard," said the Abbess to the King after La Hogue. The King was silent. The Abbess repeated her speech. "I heard you quite well," said the King, "you should not have spoken so. You imply that what you wished for me was better than what God has given." "The King's life and health are the first things," said the nuns, when he returned from the Waters of Bourbon. "What do you say?" cried the Queen, "you only think of temporal good, then!" One is reminded of "Get thee behind me, Satan, for thou savourest of the things of the world."

Yet their friendship, such as it was, had been precious to the widowed Queen, and their expressions of affection touched her deeply. "Permit poor Angelique to kiss your hand instead of mine as often as she wishes," she writes to her dear Reverend Mother, when illness kept her away. The surprise and pain with which she received the Abbess's long bill and insulting notice were the more intolerably bitter.

Lady Sophia Bulkeley, one of the oldest of the Queen's ladies, and mother of the Duchess of Berwick,* wrote indignantly to expostulate, in her mistress's name, to whom the projected change would be most inconvenient. A nun came over, evidently sorry and ashamed, and acknowledged the Queen's goodness and charity to her house, for which they never could be sufficiently grateful. The Queen at first disputed the bill, but on finding it correct, offered to change all her rooms for some at half the rent. This plan was refused, but the Abbess condescended to compromise. Her Majesty would be welcome to the use of the rooms now occupied by Madame de l'Orge, when the Princess should accompany her to Chaillot. The Queen gave careful instructions in her will that payment in full

* She was sister of the beautiful Frances Stuart, Duchess of Richmond.—Campana di Cavelli.

of all her debts must be made—when the King should enjoy his own again! Not a very substantial promise it seems to us, but at that time, in spite of the Treaty of Utrecht, the King had every prospect of being restored upon the approaching death of Queen Anne, and Queen Mary Beatrice, ill of cancer, had little expectation of surviving her.

On November 4, the Queen and Princess, being again at Chaillot, the King returned from his French trip. He had inspected the silk manufactories of Lyons, where he ordered a handsome brocade riding-skirt for his sister. As none of the stuffs exhibited to him seemed worthy of his Princess, he had commissioned Madame l'Intendante to see that a design after his taste was carried out, and had written to his sister that having left the matter in more experienced hands than his, she would have a petticoat of the handsomest brocade in the world to wear next winter when she put off her mourning for the Dauphin.

But mourning deepened into the very darkness of tragedy, and long before the next winter the young Princess herself had put on her garment of immortality. On February 12, 1712, the Dauphiness, Adelaide of Savoy, died of a mysterious "malignant purple fever"—not without dark suspicion against the ambitious and infamous Duchess of Berry and her father, which were certainly strengthened by the death of the Dauphin six days later, followed by the death of the elder of their two little sons on March 18—the third Dauphin who had died within a year. The heir of France was now a baby of two years old, and Louis XIV. was aged and ailing, drawing close to the grave.

The Queen and the Princess of England went to Chaillot for the following Holy Week and Easter. On Easter Thursday afternoon, March 31, the King arrived at the convent from hunting in the Bois de Boulogne, and took his mother and sister home to St. Germain's. He was not feeling well, but the Princess was brimming with her usual health and spirits, though she wept at parting with her dear Sister Marguerite Henriette. Two days later, the King was dangerously ill of small-pox. Ten days after that, on April 10, the Princess discovered while dressing that she had caught the deadly infection.

At first the symptoms were favourable. No one was alarmed for her life, and it was hoped that even her beauty might not suffer. In spite of the Queen's earnest protest, it is to be feared that she was neglected. All the fears and the cares of the household were centred upon her brother, who was so extremely delicate, and whose life was so valuable. There was not much the matter, the doctors said, but they bled her in the foot; the usual treatment.

The Princess, however, recognised some danger, for at the very beginning of her illness she made a general confession to her director, Father Gaillard. But she was bright and cheery when the stricken Queen came to see her from the anxious bedside of the King.

"You see, madame," she said to her mother, "the happiest person in the world. I have just made my general confession, and I think I have made it the best I could, so that if they were to tell me immediately that I should die, I could not do otherwise. I leave myself in God's hands. I do not ask Him that I may live, but only that His will may be done in me." The Queen said, "My daughter, I cannot say so much as that, for I confess that I entreat of God to save your life, so that you may serve and love Him better than you have done yet." The Princess replied sweetly, "If I wish to live it is only for that, and that I may be some comfort to you."

These words were written down afterwards by command of the Queen, and are preserved in the Chaillot Papers.

On Sunday, April 17, the Princess had a bad and disturbed night. The doctors gave her opiates, but at five in the morning a message was brought to the Queen that she was dying. The weary mother was stealing a short rest, and was not allowed to go to her daughter. At nine the Princess died. The news was broken to the Queen at ten o'clock by Father Gaillard and her own confessor, Father Ruga.

The grief of all who knew her was overwhelming.* The aged and much-bereaved King of France came to weep with the bereaved Queen, that the young should be taken and the old left. The people of France mourned for the bright girl who had been born and who had grown up among them.

* The doctor who bled the Princess was blamed for her death. His defence, with an elaborate analysis of her illness and treatment, may be found in the Carte Papers, ccviii. ff. 272-389 (Bodleian Library).

"These are our children," they were wont to cry when the royal exiles rode past, who were deeply touched by the kindly sentiment.

In England this news was received with profound sorrow; even dismay. Queen Anne herself was more affected than she had been by any event since the death of the little Duke of Gloucester. Burnet, arch-enemy of the banished Stuarts, who while she lived had professed to believe her suppositions, writes : *

She was, by all who knew her, admired as a most extraordinary person in all respects, insomuch that a very great character was spread of her by those who talked but indifferently of the Pretender himself: thus he lost a great deal of strength, which she procured to him from all who saw or conversed with him.

Lord Dartmouth adds in a note :

The Queen (Anne) showed me a letter, wrote in the King of France's own hand, upon the death of her sister; in which there was the highest character that ever was given to any princess of her age. Mr. Richard Hill came straight from the Earl of Godolphin's (who had always the best and earliest intelligence from France) to me with the news, and said it was the worst that ever came to England. I asked him why he thought so. He said it had been happy if it had been her brother, for then the queen might have sent for her and married her to a prince George, who could have no pretensions during her own life, which would have pleased every honest man in the kingdom, and made an end of all disputes for the future.

A letter in the Nairne Papers, dated April 22, 1712, and signed "Charles Johnson," runs :

I was sat down with great delight, this day se'night, to rejoice with you in the happy recovery, as I then thought, of our two friends [the King and the Princess], when a report was brought me in of what, God knows, has been too well confirmed since, and which made the pen fall from my hand. Well! God's will must be obeyed, and we must be truly thankful, as we ought, for the safety of one who must now be doubly dear to us, and is, indeed, our only comfort and hopes. I will not undertake to tell you what his friends have felt during the event of so doubtful a distemper, when even those who are less so have expressed a concern upon this occasion. Should there be the least remains of any hectical disposition, we hope he will remove, for some time, into a milder air and warmer climate.

* Burnet's "History of his Own Times." Vol. ii. p. 602, fol. (vi. iii.)

"You cannot imagine how generally she is lamented, even by those that have ever been enemies to her family," writes an English correspondent to St. Germain's, also on April 22.*

Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, husband of James II.'s daughter by Catherine Sedley, writes as one of the family :

I will not take the liberty to trouble you with my concern for our late loss. It is something I cannot express; and yet is light when I consider the condition my dearest nephew [the king] is in. . . . My poor sister's [Queen Anne] heart will be broke with the insufferable affliction.

Mr. Lilly writes to Sir William Ellis, May 9 :

Yours of the 29th was the joyfullest ever her eyes saw, for it restored her [Mr. Lilly] to life after being dead about a week, but not to perfect health for her dear Lowder [the princess], and her heart bleeds for poor Quaille [Queen Mary Beatrice]. But we must submit to the will of God.

Again,

The loss is great, and I can justly say it was sensible to me.†

On April 26 the Queen writes to the Pope to announce her daughter's death :

As soon as the King, my son, was out of danger of the smallpox, from which he has been ill, the same disease attacked my daughter, so that on the eighth day of her illness she was suddenly taken from me when I the least expected it, but not without finding her in a disposition of the most perfect resignation. This blow comes upon me all the more sadly, in that I have lost the dearest companion who would have comforted me in the coming absence of the King, my son. It is not an hour since he was informed of this dreadful event, because it was feared that a sudden shock might have a dangerous effect. In the midst of so many afflictions with which it has pleased God to visit me, I implore the compassion of your Holiness and the help of your holy prayers.‡

Two days after the Princess's death her heart was taken to Chaillot in a silver heart-shaped casket, where it was enshrined with the heart of Queen Henrietta Maria, in a similar casket, in a coffer covered with black velvet, laced with silver. Her body was laid beside her father's in the Chapel of the English Benedictines; like his, unburied, to await the time when they should sleep with their fathers in their own land. It was a

* Jean Murray, Carte MSS. cxxi. ff. 28, 29.

† Macpherson's "Stuart Papers," vol. ii. p. 303.

‡ Guaiterio Papers, British Museum, Add. MSS.

grievous disappointment to the Queen that there could be no public funeral oration, on account of the negotiations for peace, then being carried on between France and the touchy English government.*

The Queen seems to have been loth to return to Chaillot. Her son's convalescence was slow and anxious, and he was under sentence of banishment. She sent to the nuns, by Lady Strickland, the brocade petticoat which the King had ordered at Lyons for his sister and which she had never worn. This, with the shoes and stockings she wore at her christening, were kept in memory of her at Chaillot.

On May 19, the Queen wrote to the convent; mindful first, in her sweet unselfishness, to congratulate Mother Priolo, with all the unhurried attention to detail expected of her, on her re-election as Abbess:

But how shall I speak to you, dear mother, of the dear daughter whom God gave to me and whom He has taken from me? Nothing more than that, since it is He who has done it, I must be silent, or speak only to bless His Holy Name. He is the master of mother and children. He has taken one and left me the other, and I must not doubt that He has done what is best for them both and for me. . . . I cannot thank you enough for all your prayers for the living and the dead. I am sure that the latter are thanking you in the presence of God, for the dispositions to which He brought my dear daughter at the beginning of her illness, to prepare herself for death. I have every reason to hope that she enjoys or soon will enjoy, His Presence with our holy king. . . . I shall never forget all my life the services that [Sister Marguerite Henriette] has rendered to my dear daughter; the good she did for her soul.

On July 28, the Queen visited the convent for the first time since her daughter's death, a very painful undertaking. She wept very much, recalling her last visit at Easter, when the Princess had been so bright and well, in the bloom of her twentieth year.

On September 6, the King went to Châlons-sur-Marne, still within reach of his mother. She writes to Lord Middleton January 28, 1713:

You were charmed with the King's being a good son. What do you think, then, I must be, that am the poor old doating mother of him? I

* "Les Derniers Stuarts." Campana di Cavelli: Introduction.

do assure you, his kindness is all my support under God. . . . I am also charmed with him for being a good master and a true friend.*

She sent to the King a ring containing his sister's hair, which he promised to keep all his life.

The nuns of Chaillot compiled a circular memoir of the Princess, in which they described the Princess at the opera and theatres never ceasing to occupy her mind with meditating on heavenly things. The Queen, who, according to the nuns, was "edified and convinced" by this astonishing statement, nevertheless advised them to seek confirmation thereof from Madame de Lauzun, who had known the Princess more intimately than any one. Madame de Lauzun declared that such a statement should never have been made; that the Princess, who loved music, was so delighted with the opera and comedies she attended, that she followed them closely and repeated the songs afterwards; and to say that while they were going on her mind was filled by thoughts of hell and eternity was to destroy all the credibility of the letter.

There are two memoirs of the Princess Louisa, printed with other Chaillot Papers in the "Stuart Papers relating to Mary of Modena"; from both of which quotations have already been made. That, presumably, by Sister Marguerite Henriette, related to "a Jesuit," describes at great length her devotion and private austerities. This nun was certainly much loved by the warm-hearted Princess, who was sensitive and impulsive enough to take up a life of prayer and penance when she came within her friend's influence. For three years Sister Marguerite had been her confidante, sworn to secrecy as to those pious practices, invented by herself in addition to those of the nuns in which she shared. The Masses she heard, the meditations she made, are all recorded:

From twelve years old she had been in the world and at first she had tried hard to be recollected; but amid pleasure and admiration she grew forgetful of prayer and meditation. She grew hot at times over religious disputes, for she hated novelties and all that savoured of singularity. Her heart in all things was truly royal; its kindness corrected her quick temper. She had received from God the loveliest nature that ever was. When she feared lest she had carelessly or ignorantly given pain, she

* Macpherson: "Stuart Papers."

never rested till she had asked pardon or made her excuses. She had something kind to say to every one.

Her love for her mother and brother, her gentleness and her charities are enthusiastically praised. She never forgot her father's words which had so deeply impressed her, "All that God does is well done."

On July 12, 1824, long after the vicissitudes of the French Revolution, three leaden chests were found; one inscribed as the viscera * of James II., King of England, &c., the others identified as those of Queen Mary of Modena and of the Princess Louisa Mary. By command of George IV. and with the sympathetic assent of the restored King Louis XVIII., these melancholy remains were buried with all regal pomp at St. Germain. The Mass was sung by Monseigneur Paterson, Archbishop *in partibus*, of Cylistra and Coadjutor of Edinburgh. Among other illustrious persons present it is interesting to find Marshal Macdonald, the Abbé Duc de Melfort, of the noble house of Perth, and the English and *Sardinian* Ambassadors. The presence of the last is particularly interesting, as representing Mary Beatrice, Duchess of Modena, Princess of Savoy, eldest daughter of Victor Emanuel I., King of Sardinia, whose death on the preceding January 10, had left her heiress-in-line of the House of Stuart, eldest and direct descendant of Henrietta Stuart, Duchess of Orleans, whose daughter Anne, Duchess of Savoy, upon the death of the Princess Louisa, became heiress of James III., next to Queen Anne.

There is a marble monument to the memory of the Princess in the Scots College at Paris. The inscription runs thus:

D. O. M.
 Hic sita sunt
 Viscera puellæ regiæ
 LUDOVICÆ MARIE
 Quæ Jacobi II. majoris Britannię Regis
 et Mariæ Reginæ divinitus nata fuerat,
 ut et parentibus optimis perpetui exilii
 Molestium levaret.
 et fratri dignissimo regii sanguinis decus
 quod calumniantium improbitate detrahebatur
 adsereret.

* Their bodies had long been scattered to the four winds by the French Revolutionists.

Omnibus naturæ et gratiæ donis cumulata
morum suavitate probata terris,
sanctitate matura cælo.

Rapta est, ne malitia mutaret intellectum
ejus, eo maxime tempore quo spes fortunæ
melioris oblata, gravius salutis
Æterna discrimen videbatur aditura.

XIV. Kal. Maii anno MDCCXII.
Ætatis anno XIX.

A. SHIELD.

ART. V.—WILL THE GOSPEL OF MATERIALISM BE THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE?

THE opponents of Christianity have long declared that it is on the wane, that the Christian religion is to share the fate of other faiths which have had their day and have passed from the first strength of their youth to prime, old age, and subsequent extinction.

And why, they might ask, should we expect it to be otherwise? On what solid grounds can it reasonably be supposed that Christianity should be exempt from the universal law of decadence and death, which history shows us to overtake sooner or later all mundane systems and institutions however powerful, widespread, honoured, and long-lived? And in the abstract, apart from particular considerations, the proposition contained in this query appears not unreasonable.

But let us test it by taking for an example the dissolution of that paganism which Christianity displaced, as being the most pertinent to the question. Do the circumstances under which this was effected at all favour the idea that a like fate awaits Christianity?

There is certainly a curious parallel between the religions and social aspects of the present civilisation and those of the first stage of the decline of the Roman Empire, which, considered superficially, might appear to do so.

Throughout modern civilisation, especially in the large towns, there are the same great contrasts between want and luxury in an even more exaggerated form; there are the same squalor, vice, and general misery to which large portions of the population are doomed; there are the same demoralisation and debauchery, particularly of the upper classes; there is the same growing discontent with their lot among the toilers, which already from time to time shakes the surface of society as with a shock of earthquake—sign of the volcanic powers beneath which shall eventually burst through and overwhelm it.

And as regards religion, it might be maintained, the parallel is even closer.

As in the latter days of pagan Rome the old heathen religion was supported by the State almost entirely from motives of policy, long after the mass of educated people had ceased to have any vital belief in it; so, it could be urged with some show of plausibility, the public and formal recognition of religion is chiefly an external one, and Christianity has lost its hold on the inward allegiance of the majority in proportion to the different degrees of intelligence and culture to which the different countries it embraces have attained.

This parallel is further seen in the number of new cults which became fashionable and sprang into rank luxuriance in the soil of the decaying pagan society. Then the mystic religions of the East attracted many votaries by their appeal to the imagination and to the feverish thirst for some new sensation, no less than by the glamour of their antiquity. For the same reason different forms of "superstition" were rife, in striking contrast and apparent antagonism to the restless scepticism of the age; various forms of necromancy and fortune-telling became prevalent among those to whom their national gods had ceased to be anything but a myth. Buddhism and Islam have similarly invaded the modern world, and the former, especially in its late form of Theosophy, has seized hold upon some thoughtful minds among those who had already rejected that Protestant version of the Christian Revelation which from early training and habit they had conceived to be the true representation of it; while Spiritualism is rampant and claims a large number of adherents. Then there is Satanism or devil-worship, and the milder superstitions of Chiromancy, Astrology, Crystal-gazing, and the like.

And as the pagans of old Rome gradually deserted the temples of their fathers' gods, so now is there manifest everywhere a falling-off in attendance at Christian worship, a relaxation of Christian ideals and sense of obligation.

Not only have a large number of the thoughtful few openly renounced Christianity, but a considerable proportion of the educated and of the toiling classes have sunk into practical scepticism, even while for various reasons some of them may still outwardly conform to some of the public requirements of religion.

The writer has not, indeed, seen the parallel worked out in

detail by any member of the various infidel schools. But it seems to him to lie at the root of much of their teaching, especially in the case of those who call their new theories "religions."

They reckon all distinctive Christian creeds as idols which are to be demolished. They consider them to represent the outworn religious system of the past, while the new ideas which are to triumph represent that regenerative force by which humanity is to be remodelled in its social and moral aspects.

But what is the true teaching of the past in this regard?

To reach the real significance of the historical *data* we must look beneath their surface: we must look to the causes of the triumph of Christianity over paganism. And it will then be seen that, so far from this view being the true one, it is really an inversion of the plain meaning of the facts; that, instead of Christianity having changed her position so as to occupy that which once belonged to an effete paganism, she stands in exactly the same place which she has always held; and that, on the other hand, the forces of materialism and agnosticism to which she at present is opposed are precisely the same enemies with which she dealt, and over which she triumphed, at the beginning of her career, though now they have taken different names and use different tactics. Those opponents are indeed in all essential features the same, for natural science and its discoveries are not the real enemies, but materialistic conceptions of the universe,* which had their origin in writers like Lucretius and Protagoras, and exercised much influence on the thoughtful circles of first and second century society. And the Catholic Church then as now met these conceptions, and the lax morality that accompanied them, "not by subtle words of man's wisdom," but by the definite dogmas of spiritual and revealed truth grounded on authority, by "the foolishness of the Cross," the stern doctrines of repentance and self-sacrifice (so repugnant

* It is not the facts of science, nor, strictly speaking, its theories considered in themselves, which are opposed to Faith. For the theories are capable of being stated in such terms as are not inconsistent with a spiritual conception of the universe. The apparent antagonism is rather owing to the fact that the purely mechanical side of them is assigned an undue prominence and insisted on as an adequate explanation of all phenomena, while systems of materialistic philosophy are then built upon them.

to the natural man), the absolute faith in a God of justice and of love, and in man's eternal destiny assured by Christ's resurrection. It was by such weapons that she won her battle, for "this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith."

This being so, the great question that confronts us is whether in the contest that has been once more thrust upon her by the reappearance of her ancient foes, Christianity will again triumph or will this time succumb to the attack. There are signs which indicate that she will again be victorious.

The pagan ideas were crumbling not only because they had lost their first vigour, because mankind had outgrown them, and because they had become fossilised and conventional, but because they had never appealed to or guided his higher moral and spiritual instincts, or, if this had once in some degree been so, they had long ceased to have any such power. The pagan mythology, at the time when it was a faith, exercised no doubt an elevating and inspiring influence upon art, and was more or less connected with certain primitive virtues, such as martial valour typified in the demigod Hercules; but for its strictly moral ideas the pagan world had looked to the philosophers and the schools founded by them, whose influence did not reach the masses, but was felt only among the educated few. As the primitive stages of social development were left behind, and a long world-peace, produced mainly by Rome's wide-stretching power and authority, allowed the growth of an advanced material civilisation, the weakness of these old ideals became manifest, and they proved quite unequal to stem the torrent of corruption which, it seems, such material civilisation must always bring in its train; and this because there was nothing in them to oppose such corruption, which they fostered rather than hindered.

And as they failed to supply man with moral ideals which he could respect and by which he might guide his life, so also were they proved inadequate to meet the deeper needs of his spiritual nature. The abstract speculations of philosophers, no less than the primitive mythology, failed to give him a certain answer to those all-important questions—for what end he is in this world, and—whither he is going. And without such answer the mind of a reflective being can never rest satisfied.

It was the failure of the pagan systems to satisfy these eternal needs of man's nature which impelled him to seek in the more mystic and spiritual religions of the East that satisfaction which was denied him elsewhere—to seek, but not to find it, for, when the one true faith began to make its way in the world, he soon discovered that he could be satisfied with nothing less; and the Eastern religions, with their mystic rites, went the way of the old philosophies and mythology, and disappeared before the advance of Christianity.

In the present day the same things are happening again.

Not only is there a recrudescence of materialistic and agnostic thought in modern civilisation, but accompanying it, and partly, at least, caused by it, there is a widespread outbreak of pagan vices, of human selfishness and animalism, and to these the Catholic Church stands, as of old, most strongly opposed.

There are vast inequalities between the lots of rich and poor, much useless and wanton luxury on the one hand, much misery and ill-requited toil on the other; but these inequalities Christianity still is doing, as she has always done, her best to mitigate both by insisting to the rich on their duty to the poor, and by actively engaging in works of mercy to the latter in accordance with her eternal principles of love and justice. Where she fails, it is not owing to any weakness in her principles, but to the natural baseness and selfishness of mankind which she has always done her best to combat. The true lesson from past history is that were it not for the "salt" which Christ introduced into the world, present-day civilisation, as it is more advanced and complex, would have been far more corrupt than that of Roman times, even had it been possible for it to have reached its present level without already having putrefied and dissolved.

The real reason why Christianity often appears to be playing a losing game is because she cannot yield for a moment to modern relaxations of faith and morality. So far as Christian bodies outside the Church consent to do this and to make a compromise with the world, they may gain in popularity and apparent influence for a time, but it is only that in the end they may be merged in the common flood of worldliness. "If the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?"

The fact that the lives of many professing Christians are failures from a moral point of view by no means affects the truth of these contentions. An artist is judged by his best work, and the Church must be judged by the loftiness of her principles, as realised in a greater or less degree by the lives of those who come nearest to her ideal.

This is one reason why the Church conquered materialism before, and for this reason she must do so again, because man is a moral animal—*i.e.*, he has the moral sense, or what Christians call a conscience. He needs a fixed standard of morality as a guide through life, not such as depends upon the fluctuating opinions of men or the variable codes of mere human society, but one that is unchanging because it comes from the changeless God. And such standard he can find, not in the popular isms of the day, but only in the Catholic Church.

And Materialists have felt constrained to make a bow to Christianity by borrowing some of her high morality to give a little backbone to their new "religions." Men of excellent moral lives as some of them may be, owing to the Christian influences which they do not acknowledge, they fail to grasp the teachings of history which show that if their ideas won the day and held the field, as they did before Christianity became a power, there would again be such an outcrop of heathen vices that civilisation would be a congeries of "cities of the plain." However well, on the whole, they may direct their own lives under a social system and public opinion which have been to a great extent moulded by Christian teaching; yet they ought to know, if they know mankind, that if all such restraints were removed, the "*bête humaine*" which is latent in every man would rise like a wolf and claim its share of selfish and sensual pleasure, at whatever cost to others, in the only life allotted to it.

To the mass of mankind, at least under such circumstances, that heathen philosophy would seem true which is expressed in the saying: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

And as in the moral, so it has been in the spiritual sphere.

Man is not only a moral, he is also a religious animal: he has certain spiritual instincts and capacities which need satisfaction, as well as moral and mental ones: he has, in fact,

what Christians call a soul, though its powers may be atrophied by abuse or disuse like those of body and mind.

This has been so far recognised by modern Materialists and Agnostics that in several instances they have dubbed their new theories by the name of "religions." Thus there is "the religion of Humanity": some have endeavoured to make a religion of Science; others of "Work" with a gospel of "justice" for the toilers. So far as they contain good ideas which satisfy certain human needs the origin of these ideas may be traced to Christianity, before the birth of which such a notion as altruism was practically unknown.

But this is the utmost that can be said for them. They do not satisfy the deeper needs of human nature. At their best they may be a support to the strong man in his hour of health, but they bring no message to the sick, the suffering, the mourner or the aged; they offer no hope to the dying; to the toiler they can but extend the delusive prospect of perfect social happiness in this life in place of the eternal joys of heaven.

It has already been indicated how in this we have another cause of the original overthrow by Christianity of materialistic philosophy—viz., that she alone could give man the certain assurance of a future life.

And all the history of the past goes to show that this assurance meets an eternal need of his being. There is no religion worthy of the name but has been built upon this universal instinct.

And as Christianity has conquered through this in the past, so will she again in the future, for man's nature remains at the base the same from age to age. As was well said long ago—if any one will again found a world-wide and universal religion which appeals to men of all nations and classes, he must first be crucified and then rise again. If this instinct is not legitimately satisfied it will, like thwarted animal instincts, make for itself all sorts of strange outlets. And as, when the pagan gods and philosophies failed to satisfy them, the heathen of the decaying Roman Empire turned to the excitements of witchcraft, Eastern mysteries, and other forms of "superstition"; so under the similar circumstances of the present age, when materialism has again lifted up its head, there have blossomed

forth a variety of such strange "cults" among those who either resist or else are ignorant of the true Church. Of these it is apposite to remark that the only ones which have been formulated into quasi-religious systems and have made many converts are Spiritualism and Theosophy, being such as, in however perverted a way, treat the unseen powers of man's soul and the unseen life as concrete realities, as living facts, to be dealt with as such, like those of the visible world around us.

The interest aroused by the proceedings of "the Society for Psychical Research," the universal dread that a "haunted house" inspires even in the professedly sceptical, the eager interest excited by tales of the unseen, all point in the same direction—viz., that man has that within him which recognises spiritual powers even though it be in the teeth of his own intellectual convictions or prejudices.

If, then, the verdict of history points not to the extinction of definite Christianity, but to its continuance because it alone can meet the deepest necessities of man's nature, it may safely be assumed, in default of absolute proof to the contrary, that the present-day signs of its seeming decadence are not due to the supposed fact that men are beginning to awake to the falsity of its claims, but to quite other causes. And, indeed, it can be shown that while abstention from public worship is due to a variety of causes, atheism plays but an inconsiderable part in the matter. To enumerate and discuss them all would furnish matter for a separate article, and it is not the writer's intention to do so here.

This, then, is the sum of the argument up to the present point: Christianity saved the pagan world from its downward course of degeneration and corruption, and elevated humanity to a higher plane. The same disintegrating forces are at work with renewed vigour in the civilisation of to-day; and if the world is to be again delivered from their bondage, it can only be by means of their old enemy, Christianity, which overcame them before.

She has no new rival in the field which can offer nobler ideals: she is still the sole hope of a perishing world.

And now the question arises as to which, among the many diverse and contending bodies all of which claim to teach the

pure religion of Christ, is best fitted for the task of handing on that religion to future generations.

What, in fine, is to be the "the religion of the future"?—to put the cant question that so many profess to answer from time to time. To indicate its true answer let us complete the parallel between the past and present.

It has been seen that Christianity and materialism are again renewing their life-and-death struggle. It has been seen that in the past the Christian Church conquered by her appeal to the deep-rooted needs of man's spiritual and moral nature, which are the same in every age.

But it was not only the force of this appeal that attracted him, not only her high self-sacrificing ideals and deep insight into the spiritual life; it was also her unity, consistency, and harmony of faith and organisation which contrasted so strongly with the varying and conflicting waves of thought and opinion, ever on the rise and fall in the schools of human philosophies and Christian or semi-Christian sects outside the Church.

And still in the present day the Catholic Church alone possesses those marks which distinguish her from any mere human organisations and point to her divine origin.

For God is unchangeable and His religion is unchangeable, and not subject to the fleeting opinions of men, though the deposit of faith may be enriched by fresh ideas and its contents more clearly and absolutely defined from time to time by the voice of the Church.

And, indeed, it is one of the charges constantly brought against the Church by her opponents that she does not change, that she does not move with the times in the sense of seeking to popularise the faith by minimising any of its articles. Other Christian bodies drift in the shallow stream of current speculation and drop little by little those portions of the precious freight which remain to them from the wreck of the sixteenth century. She remains as rock, and suffers the tide of opinion to roll by, while directing its course in spite of itself.

To slightly alter the lines of the poet:

Thought is a sea without shore,
But the Church is a rock that abides,
Though her ears be vexed with the roar
And her face with the foam of the tides.

Other Christian bodies can find a place in their systems for those who contradict each other in their teaching. Her witness, is one and consistent: she will not suffer her children to deviate one hair's breadth from the faith.

It is to a great extent owing to this her unyielding character that she is more hated, reviled, and persecuted than any religious body in Christendom; but she is mindful of the Apostle's words, "Marvel not if the world hate you," and "Whosoever will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God."

In all these respects she is the exact counterpart of the Primitive Church, with which she is continuous and of which she thus shows herself to be the true successor.

It is for these reasons that she at once attracts and repels, that we see in these days of so much stir and upheaval of new thought so many ranging themselves against her who rightly recognise in her the only enemy to mere secularism and materialism that is worthy of their steel. They "go out from her because they are not of her," and she is not really but only apparently weakened by their defection, for her true sons were never more loyal than now as they rally to her banner.

This is why in those Catholic countries which have suffered most from the attack of modern infidelity the contrast between spirituality and materialism is deeper, the lines between faith and unbelief more strongly marked, than in those where Christianity attempts some compromise with the disintegrating tendencies of latter-day thought.

On the other hand, it is this very consistency and jealousy for the truth which is still, as in the first ages, attracting many to her fold out of all ranks, classes, and creeds.

And the Catholic, knowing the story of her past, can look forward with calm assurance to her future.

The Catholic Church and the Catholic religion are the only ones that have stood the storm and stress, the changes, the attacks, the ebb and flow, the counter- and cross-currents of human thought for all the centuries since Christ. They have passed away and the Church remains the same, having absorbed into her system whatever of lasting worth they produced.

That Church was the cradle of the present European nations and languages; in her they had their birth and have attained their present stature. She has weathered many and mighty

revolutions, political, social, and religious; she renews her youth like the eagle, and has shown her power to adapt herself to new conditions and a fresh soil in the young world of America, where she is flourishing and vigorous.

This vitality of the Catholic Faith and its power over the minds and souls of men has also been shown by the recent wonderful revival of the Church in England in the teeth of long-standing prejudices and the strongest opposition, and even by the remarkable development of Catholic ideas outside her pale, since Cardinals Wiseman and Newman, then on different sides of the border-line, sowed the seed fifty years ago.

In her, now as ever, the world has the sole guarantee of unchanging faith and discipline.

When those without her pale shall have grown tired of the husks of materialism, of the sophistries of false philosophies, of the deceitful Utopia of a perfected world, of the interminable disputes and endless divisions of human religions; when the various Protestant sects have dropped one by one the distinctive doctrines of Christianity which they took from her, but of which, in many cases, they are gradually losing hold—she will remain the same, indestructible and everlasting.

And, as this process goes on, an increasing number of souls, who realise that this life is but the beginning and who know how to value spiritual truth, will turn back to her, their mother, who has guarded that truth so jealously in spite of the hatred, the malignity, and the misrepresentation of her many opponents.

There may always be an unconverted world outside her, but all who value religion will one day be on her side.

Yes, the religion of the future, as of the past, will be that of the Holy Roman and Catholic Church.

H. C. CORRANCE.

ART. VI.—THE REALITY OF THE EXTERNAL WORLD.

THE subject of the present paper may seem at first sight to the uninitiated eye to be one so obvious and commonplace as to demand an apology for discussing it at all. The reality of the external world! The very idea is enough for us; it surely wants no proof; it is a primal, a basal fact of consciousness that only needs to be stated to win our prompt and unhesitating assent; it is as certain as the certainty of our own existence. We feel inclined with Dr. Johnson to stamp our feet upon the solid earth and to exclaim, *there* is our answer to the sceptic and the idealist who would bid us deny the objective reality of that world outside ourselves of which our whole being is so full.

And yet, when we come to look closely into the grounds of our belief, to weigh the evidence, to analyse the complex factors of our cognition of external things, we find that the question is by no means so simple and plain as we first of all supposed; the *prima facie* clearness of vision becomes obscured, conflicting truths stand in our path, many shadows dim the brightness of our original assurance; theory after theory, equally plausible, equally destructive to the fabric based, as we supposed, upon the sure foundation of experience, confronts us; we get lost in a maze of perplexities and contradictions that only increase and deepen as we proceed in our investigations after reality and certainty, until at length we are tempted to give over the hopeless task of reconciling principles so divergent and so destructive, closing our eyes in sheer weariness and disgust, determined to accept as inevitable Dr. Johnson's dreary judgment on the subject of Free-will: "All experience is in favour of" an outside world; "all theory is against it."

It is, then, not surprising, when we come to study the matter closely, that the great problem which has been the battle-field of philosophy for more than two centuries has been the validity of the grounds on which we base our belief in the

real existence of the material world. We look around us, beneath us, above us, and see apparently a multitude of objects—so different that no two are alike, and so united that all come under the scope of our individual knowledge. We behold, for instance, in a favoured country like Switzerland, the giant mountain in its rugged grandeur, capped by white fields of eternal snow—vast solitudes disturbed by no foot of man—the fair earth throbbing with an inner life, the wood-clad slope, the undulating valley, the placid lake, the far-off star; we see again, in fancy, the myriad forms that deck the fertile plain with beauty, or people earth and sea and sky with life, rising up stage after stage from the lowest and almost inanimate types through plant and protozoa, worm and fish, reptile, bird, and beast, until they culminate finally in man; and everywhere as we learn to probe deeper into Nature's secrets and spell out her hidden truths, we find a closer and more intimate union, a more perfect interdependence and correlation between the whole universe in its marvellous variety and almost endless divergency of every shade and hue, and the individual man under the range and dominion of whose mind it comes—between, that is to say, the *object known* and the *subject* who knows it—between the conscious self and the term of its cognition.

I who see the storm-cloud and who feel the sunshine, wind, and rain, bring them into the unity of my own personality; they bear a relation to me and I to them. I who look upon the earth and all that exist upon it, who classify in their kingdoms the grades and hierarchies of living beings, am he who focuses them in the single lens of a thinking mind that makes them severally and altogether its own.

Thus when we proceed to ask ourselves the worth of our reasons for believing in the existence of material objects external to us, the first question that we have to answer is this: What is the means by which we bring the knowledge of the outside world home to us? How does perception by our senses of things other than ourselves come about?

We are the channels through which the stream of varied cognitions flows; it is the *conscious self* that reduces to order, harmony, and union the multitude of different objects that come within its ken. All our knowledge begins from indi-

vidual experience, for, as Kant says: "How is it possible that the faculty of cognition should be awakened into exercise otherwise than by means of objects which affect our senses?"* Now, our senses are the organs of experience; we must, therefore, consider *their* workings in order to find out how we attain our knowledge of the external world.

If we accept Sir W. Hamilton's classification—similar to that of Kant—we may divide our senses into two broad, general divisions: the *sensus fixus*, or permanent sense, comprising the five senses of sight, touch, taste, smell, and hearing; and the *sensus vagus*, or variable sense (which he also calls the "vital sense," *cœnesthesis*, "common feeling"), embracing the feelings of temperature, shuddering, hunger, thirst, muscular tension, &c. It will be sufficient for our purpose to take the two principal senses of sight and touch.

I say that I see a house in front of me—*i.e.*, something external to me. What really takes place? In other words, what is the genesis, history, and nature of a sensation? Sensation may be described—it cannot, properly speaking, be *defined* owing to its very simplicity—as a primitive state of consciousness aroused in the physical organism by some exciting and impelling cause. It thus does not belong to the mind alone nor to the body alone, but to the living thing—the conscious person—made up of mind and body. This is exemplified in the action of the sense of sight. The body does not see this house by itself; the mind does not see it by itself; it is *I*, the solitary individual person composed of body and mind, that say to myself "I see."

The manner in which a sensation occurs has usually three stages.†

First, there is, at least in appearance (for we will take nothing for granted), an action of the physical world external to the animated body. This action, passed on by motion of some sort to the sense-organ, gives rise to the second stage, consisting of a disturbance in the substance of the nerves

* "Critique of Pure Reason," tr. by J. M. Meiklejohn, p. 1.

† The following account of sensation is derived in the main from Maher's "Psychology" (pp. 42, 67, 82), to which interesting work the writer is also indebted for some thoughts incorporated in his paper, more especially in his treatment of the Kantian philosophy.

quickly transmitted to the brain. At this point something completely new and hitherto unexperienced—the *conscious* sensation—the sensation, in other words, whereby we say to ourselves in the inner sanctuary of the soul, “I feel or see this or that” which before I did not feel nor see—this new state is awakened within us, and here we have the third and final stage of the highly complex act of sensation.

Applying these principles to the case in point—sight—we find that what really has happened when I exclaim “I see that house” is this:

First, vibrations are transmitted through the intervening ether with great swiftness* from the object to the retina of the eye (a transparent network of layers upon layers of fibres and nerve-cells), where they are concentrated so as to form an inverted image. Next, from the lowest layer of rods and cones of gelatinous matter that form the inner foundation and lining of the retina, this impression is carried by the nerves to the brain, whereupon the third stage is reached and the full sensation of the sight of the house in front of me awakened.

If we turn to the other important sense to which reference has been already made—the sense of touch—we shall find that an analogous process takes place. I say that I touch the ground on which I stand, and what happens? What do my words imply? In order for me to have the sensation there must be in the first place a pressure on the “cuticle” or outside skin; this pressure passes on through the “dermis,” or underskin which covers the surface of the body, to the network of nerves that lie beneath it and which it protects; thereupon the second stage begins; this neural disturbance, the result of the pressure on the surface-skin, is passed along to the brain with a wonderful rapidity by means of molecular change, and here the last part of the physical process takes place, but of its character and nature we are wholly ignorant. At this point the third stage occurs in the

* It was shown by Helmholtz and Baxt that the impulses traversing a mammalian nerve travel at the rate of thirty-four metres *per second*, or considerably faster than the speed of an express train, although slow as compared with the speed of light—185,000 miles *per second*, or about twelve million miles a minute (*v.* “An American Text-book of Physiology,” by W. H. Howell (1896), Art. on “The Nervous System,” by H. H. Donaldson).

form of a mental state of consciousness. Just as in the previous case the sensation of sight was completed by the conscious act whereby I said to myself "I see that house," so now the sensation of touch is completed by my consciousness of feeling a pressure on some portion of my body, so that I exclaim "I feel the ground," "I touch this table."

We thus see that our preceptions of outside objects—whether through sensations of sight which have to do with their colour, or through those of touch whose stimulus or exciting cause is pressure on the skin, or through the other sensations—depend ultimately upon the conscious subject. In every case the process is the same. The senses carry to the mind the extension, the tactual feelings, the smell, the sound, the taste, the colour, the temperature, the movement, the strain or resistance, the feelings of hunger, of thirst, of repletion, of respiration, of circulation, and other states normal to the system of things external to itself (and among these we can include our own bodies, which are equally the objects of our sensations); but in the last analysis, in the final stage of cognition, it is the *mind* which apprehends, perceives, and knows that it sees or hears or feels or smells. Without that last act whereby *I*—this breathing, living, thinking subject—grasp the fact that a neural tremor, aroused by some excitation at the roots of one of my senses, has run its course to my brain and there caused a disturbance among the tiny molecules which compose it, there would be no sensation, no perception by me of an outside world.

Here, undoubtedly, we meet with a serious difficulty, one that is the foundation of Idealism, or that doctrine that would reduce the reality of the external world to a mass of subjective feelings, ideas, and creations of the mind itself, having no counterpart outside it. If *I* by an act of consciousness am the ultimate cause of every sensation, so that without my conscious mind neither form nor shape nor size nor any quality could be perceived by me as existing, may I not also be considered the one true source of my knowledge, the framer of my conceptions, the builder of that vast world which seems so real, although it be in truth but "the baseless fabric of a vision"? If in the last resort it is the *ego*, the conscious personality, that experiences the sensation, even though that

sensation bear with it all the marks of an extra-mental agent; if without this act whereby I complete the psychological process, there would be, so far as I am concerned, no knowledge at all of anything that seems to be distinct from me; if, in a word, *I* and *I* alone am the *fons et origo*, the source and spring, of every act of my mind—why may not *I*, who know nothing but my own ideas, be the creator of that apparently independent world of every-day experience that is, after all, no more than a vivid and forcible though wholly baseless hallucination, differing only in degree from the familiar phenomena of dreams and trances?

Before we consider this objection, which is common in some measure to all Idealists, it will be as well to summarise their leading theories, for in doing so it will be apparent that they are by no means agreed among themselves either as to the arguments which they employ or the systems which they construct.

We may, then, with Kant* divide Idealism into the two great branches of *material* Idealism and *formal* or critical Idealism. Material Idealism—I am quoting from Kant—is the theory which declares the existence of objects in space without us to be either doubtful and unprovable or false and impossible. The first is the problematical Idealism of Des Cartes, the second is the dogmatic Idealism of Berkeley and his school of later times.

Formal or critical Idealism, on the other hand, is the theory of Kant himself and his disciples or successors in the Transcendental school, such as Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling. This second branch of Idealism denies to us a knowledge of things as they are really and objectively in themselves—*noumena*, as Kant calls them—and maintains that we can only know things, or *phenomena*, as they appear to us in the mould of our subjective consciousness.

With this premise we proceed to examine the first branch of Idealism, the material Idealism of Des Cartes and Berkeley. Des Cartes, who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century, may be called the parent of modern philosophic thought. His speculations start from the *dictum* that we can

* *Op. cit.* ed. 1881, p. 166.

only admit for purposes of argument as to the real existence of anything, the undoubted certainty of but one empirical assertion—i.e., an assertion verified by experience—to wit, *I am. Cogito ergo sum*, "I think, therefore I exist," was the Cartesian formula. I have, he lays down, an immediate, an infallible, and a certain knowledge of *my own thought* and nothing more. I know that I think, but I know positively nothing else, and hence I cannot be certain of anything beyond the simple fact of consciousness that I, the thinker, the subject and object of my thought, do exist. To Des Cartes a world of objects outside him might have reality, but he could not be certain of it, he had no immediate or sure knowledge of any object but the one background of his thought—that which his thought supposed and without which it could not be—viz., himself. A *thought* implies necessarily a *thinker*, but it implies nothing more. Des Cartes may, then, rightly be deemed the first mover of modern times in the problem of how to construct a golden bridge over the seemingly impassable chasm from the mind to the material world. For to him belongs the credit of investigating the source and root of our knowledge, and of showing, however mistakenly, that the mind itself is the chief factor in all its sensations.*

It is, however, to the English philosopher Locke (1632–1704) that Berkeley's scepticism and the German forms of latter-day Idealism are due. According to him our knowledge consists in the simple fact of perception of agreement or disagreement between our ideas. We thus, he says, know immediately only the mental phase of the time being.† Locke, notwithstanding this denial of our immediate apprehension of any extra-mental reality, cannot be called an Idealist, for he teaches

* A full account of the Cartesian doctrine will be found in Reid's essays on "Intellectual Powers," ed. by Sir William Hamilton (No. II. cap. viii.) The English school of Idealism from Locke to Hume is treated of, in the same essay, caps. ix.–xii. (ed. Edinburgh, 1849).

† "The simple ideas we receive from sensation and reflection are the boundaries of our thoughts, beyond which the mind . . . is not able to advance one jot" ("Human Knowledge," book ii. cap. xxiii. § 29). It should be added that Locke distinguishes between what he terms the "primary" and the "secondary" qualities of things. The former (extension, figure, solidity, motion, and rest) are *objective*, and exist independently of the sentient mind; the latter (sight, touch, taste, &c.) are purely *subjective*, without any real existence apart from the aroused act of sensation (v. "Human Knowledge," book ii. cap. 8, §§ 14, 15, 17, 18).

repeatedly that a material world does exist. Although we can know nothing but ideas yet, he argues, we have to assume for their true cause not the unaided mind but a real external world.

Locke's teaching is important from the fact that its inconsistencies were displayed and its principles pushed to their logical conclusions by Berkeley, the celebrated author of modern Idealism,* and a name more remarkable and unique than perhaps that of any philosopher since the new era of the Renaissance.

Berkeley, an Irish Protestant Bishop of the seventeenth century—he died in 1753—is best known for his two works on the "Theory of Vision" and "Phenomenalistic Idealism" respectively. The argument of the former work is based on the twin assumptions that the eye can perceive neither extension nor distance.† Sensations of sight, he maintained, bore as little relation primarily to space as tastes or touches; through constant association of ideas the mind invariably unites perceptions of space of three dimensions with the perception of unextended colour—the one object of sight. Thus when I say that I see this solid wall of ten feet in height, of a width of thirty feet, and of a thickness of a foot, I merely use a figure of speech; there is a veritable optical delusion. All that my eye sees is whiteness—the height, the breadth, the solidity are mere inferences of the mind based on previous experience. In his second work, "Phenomenalistic Idealism," Berkeley goes a step further. Taking as a premiss his peculiar theory of perception, he makes an easy transition to a rank idealistic conclusion as to the existence of the Material World. He accepts as an axiom that needs no demonstration Locke's assumption that we can perceive immediately but one thing, namely, our *mental*

* We say *modern* Idealism advisedly, for Idealism in some form is almost as old as the history of human thought. It is more particularly current in the imaginative and mystic East. Thus it finds a home in the teaching of esoteric Buddhism. We read of Buddha: "He (the Blessed One) said, Verily I say unto you, your mind is mental, but that which you perceive with your senses is also mental. There is nothing within the world or without it which is not mind or cannot become mind. There is a spirituality in all existence, and the very clay upon which we tread can be changed into children of truth."—"Gospel of Buddha," compiled from "Sacred Books of the East," by P. Carus, p. 131. For a full account of Buddhistic Idealism v. Rhys David's "Hibbert Lectures" (1881), "Buddhism" (1890), and Dr. Oldenberg's "Buddha" (1890).

† v. Especially §§ 2, 11, 43, 52, 55, 130, 154.

state, changing in a continual flux; and he proceeds, logically enough, to argue that every object of knowledge—the table at which I seem to write, the chair on which I seem to sit, the face on which I seem to gaze, the external world in all its beauty of colour, wealth and prodigality of form—must be ultimately reducible to sensations, which he makes synonymous with *ideas* of sensuous acts, to internal and wholly mental feelings such as desires, and to workings of a vivid, fertile, and restless imagination. With Locke he agrees that we can know immediately and certainly nothing but the thoughts of our mind—that is, the one act of which the individual is conscious; and hence he draws the conclusion that we can know, or feel, or see, or perceive only what is in the mind at the moment of the sensation. When I say that I see a snow-mountain by looking outside my window, what really happens is simply that I am conscious of a mental act, something produced by the innate force and power of my imagination, analogous to, and differing only in degree and intensity, not at all in kind, from the apparently real phantasms of a disordered and fitful dream.

The *esse* or being of every sensuous object is, says Berkeley, *percipi* or perception;* in other words, the reality of every sensation lies in an act of the mind whereby it perceives the objects that are apparently brought before it from without. Take away the perception, make the mind a blank, and the thing perceived, the outside material world in whatever form it be presented to the senses, vanishes and fades away. It is no longer an object of perception, the mind is no longer conscious of the sensation, and therefore nothing extra-mental exists. If, argues Berkeley, material objective substances existed when our mind ceased to act, existed beyond and apart from consciousness, they could in no way be *like* our ideas, and our knowledge of such substances by ideas would be impossible, since there would be no common medium of communication. Therefore we must deny the real existence of an inert, dead, corporeal world which has existed unperceived, and will exist after we have perceived it. All that we can assert with any confidence is that we are conscious of the ideas or thoughts or

* "Principles of Human Knowledge," part i. § 6.

feelings of our mind; when these disappear our knowledge ends. We are in truth

Such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.—*Tempest*.

Berkeley does not deny that these mental states are real, but only the objective existence of a *material cause* for them which Locke demanded. To Dr. Johnson stamping his foot upon the ground and crying, "There, sir, is my proof that an outside world exists"; to the scoffing objector who knocks his head against the wall and asks if the unpleasant sensation that thereupon ensues does not argue an objective exciting cause—he would reply at once that he admits freely that the foot *seems* to the mind to tingle and the head to ache, but he disclaims *in toto* the unwarrantable deduction that the tingling and the aching arise from the agency of an external earth or an external brick wall. Certainly, he replies to Dr. Johnson and his companion, your *minds* apprehend the sensations that disagreeably affect them, but they apprehend and know immediately nothing more. The point in question is not whether the *sensations* are real, but whether they are caused by objective material objects, the hard earth or the impenetrable wall, from which they appear to arise.

Berkeley does, however, admit an external cause of the mind's ideas—not indeed a material or corporeal, but a wholly *spiritual* cause. God the Supreme Spirit is to him the background of our thought; He creates, orders, and sustains the cohesion, regularity, and enduring existence of our manifold sensations.*

According, therefore, to Berkeley's doctrine, three realities alone can be said to exist—minds, or intellectual, conscious subjects, ideas of those minds, and God by whose agency they are brought into being.

Locke's theory found a second expounder and developer in David Hume (*ob.* 1776), who, starting on the basis constructed by Locke, ended in utter scepticism. With him all cognitions or their objects—for he uses the terms as synonyms—are either *impressions*, *i.e.*, sensations, or ideas which are shadowy

* "Principles of Human Knowledge," § cxlix. *cf.* §§ cxlviii., cl.

representations and weak memories of those impressions. He reduces, in effect, the whole stock of our mental furniture to ideas and recollections of ideas. Hume explains the universal belief in an external world by reference to the laws of Association of Ideas. By the constant sameness and the repeated recurrence of sensations we accustom ourselves through sheer force of habit to believe that material things, which we apparently perceive with such unflinching regularity and certainty, continue to exist permanently. This conception of the existence of unperceived substances is, he argues, an entire delusion. We can know nothing beyond our bare perceptions, and these as qualities of the mind belong to it alone, and show us nothing apart from the mental acts which bring them home to our consciousness. We have no sensation, no impression of any abiding substance or external objective reality; therefore, since our *knowledge* depends upon our *sensations*, we cannot say that any such reality exists. Berkeley would agree with this conclusion so far as the notion of a *material* substance is concerned; but Hume shows by precisely the same reasoning that no *spiritual* substance, no abiding mind, no divine agent, can be proved to exist as the ultimate fount of our sensations. While *Berkeley*, denying the existence of a material world, allows that a Supreme Immutable Spirit is the moving cause of our ideas, *Hume* scouts the notion of any extra-mental substratum—whether material or spiritual—of the shifting impressions that pass and repass before the eye of the conscious soul. Everything outside our changing states of consciousness is unreal. The mind is simply a cluster and a bunch of fleeting, evanescent changes of our inmost self.

It would take too long to detail at length the later forms of this doctrine of Association of Ideas. We have in the Lockian tenets the sum and substance of Stuart Mill's, Clifford's, Bain's, and Herbert Spencer's more recent theories of external sense-perception. They have modified, it is true, but they have not essentially changed the fundamental principles.* It will be

* The same may be said of those who have advanced the theory of Monism—the doctrine, to quote Professor Romanes, "that matter in motion is substantially identical with mind, so that the two are aspects or phases of one and the same thing, which from the outside we call matter, from the inside mind . . . We have only," he continues, "to suppose that the antithesis—the opposition, that is—between mind and motion—subject and object—is itself

sufficient to quote a single passage from Dr. Bain's "Mental Science" to show that he accepts Locke's conclusions in all their destructive fulness.

To perceive [he says] is an act of the mind . . . to perceive a tree is a mental act; the tree is known as perceived and not in any other way. There is no such thing known as a tree wholly detached from perception, and we can only speak of what we know.*

It is now time to turn to the other great school of Idealism—that of German Transcendentalism. Under this name are comprised the different systems of philosophy which so expound the origin of all our knowledge as to make the *mind itself*—i.e., the conscious person—be the evolver of its states, and the sole source of its sensations and perceptions. It is called Transcendentalism because it transcends or passes over all experience, and studies to expound the stock of our mental equipments, the nature of our thought, the validity of all our knowledge; *à priori*, that is to say, from the very analysis and consideration of thought and perception, apart altogether from all experience, whether internal or external. The founder of the Transcendental school was Emmanuel Kant, a German professor at Königsberg during the latter half of the eighteenth century. In endeavouring to give an epitome of his teaching it must be premised that one does not profess to give in every case his true and real meaning. No one, perhaps, has been more misunderstood than he; few have been more unfairly misrepresented. This arises partly from his peculiar and sometimes incomprehensible terminology, partly from the deep

phenomenal and apparent, not absolute and real." ("Mind, Matter, and Monism.") Cf. H. Spencer ("Principles of Psychology," p. 140): "Mind and nervous action are subjective and objective faces of the same thing"; Dr. Bain ("Mind and Body," p. 131): "Mental and physical proceed together as undivided twins."

* Pp. 197-8. Cf. Bain's "Emotions and Will," p. 598, p. 578, ed. 3. The vein of Idealism that runs through Carlyle's writings is well known. Cf. "Sartor Resartus": "Matter exists only spiritually. . . . Heaven and earth are but the time-vesture of the Eternal. The Universe is but one vast symbol of God; nay, if thou wilt have it, what is man himself but a symbol of God?" It is significant that his favourite quotations are:

1. "We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep."—*Tempest*.
2. "'Tis thus at the roaring loom of time I ply,
And weave for God the garment thou seest Him by."
Goethe's *Faust*.

and abstract nature of his philosophy, partly, it must be admitted, from his involved and turgid style. He took, he tells us himself in a letter to Lambert, nearly twelve years of continuous thought to formulate his theory, and only five months to write it. It is most true of him that his thoughts lie too deep for words; they cannot find adequate expression; human language is too poor and weak to give them sufficient utterance, too limited to cage them. When Kant lay on his death-bed, it is related by his biographer that the disciple and dear friend on whom his mantle fell—Fichte—sat beside him and listened patiently to an exposition, powerful, full, and lengthy, of his theory as to the constitution of the mind and the validity of its impressions; and at the end, as the sun was setting, he turned to his hearer and asked him if he followed the trend of his thought; and Fichte replying, gave, as he supposed, a clear and forcible *résumé* of the day's discourse, when, we are told, Kant turned his head to the wall and exclaimed with a cry of despair that his true conceptions of mental activity and the true scheme of his philosophy would die with him, for even his ablest pupil had woefully misunderstood him. We may apply to Kant the well-known story* of the Buddhist monk who was asked to define Nirvâna:

Was it a negation of the known equalling a positive apprehension of the unknown? Not entirely, he said, with a gesture of dissatisfaction. Was it the annihilation of consciousness, the extinction of the self? In one sense yes, in another no. Was it a quenching of all passion, an end to all pain? Yes, he answered impatiently, but that is not all. Was it merely the beatific vision of the plenitude of being? No, no; with equal impatience. And so with further queries. What was it then? How can you ask what is so plain? Nirvâna is . . . Well, Nirvâna is *Nirvâna*. And so in the present case, Not a realist, not an objective idealist, not altogether a subjective idealist—*Kant is Kant*—that is all that can be said.

Kant, then, in his "Critique of Pure Reason" (his other work, that on the "Critique of Practical Reason," does not come under the scope of the present paper), distinguishes apparently two things in every cognition of the mind—the one

* The following is adapted from a passage by Wilfrid Ward in an article on "Newman" in *Nineteenth Century* for October 1890, p. 564.

matter, the other *form*. Matter, he says, is changeable and contingent—it may or may not be, it is not permanent—and it arises from sensible objects either within or without us; form, on the contrary, is necessary, abiding, and universal, and arises from the very nature and make of the thinking, conscious subject. There are two great divisions of these *forms* or permanent moulds in which the mind is cast: the members of the one having their origin in the understanding alone, wholly independently of all sensations, being concerned simply with the various functions of thought; the members of the other, on the contrary, pertaining to sensuous intuitions, whether *external* and representing every object as extended in space, or *internal* and representing its change, duration, succession, or co-existence in time.

Taking the first branch of these mental forms under his consideration, Kant saw that to *think*, or to conceive something, is the same as to form a judgment in the mind, and hence that there ought to be as many forms of pure thought as there are kinds of judgments. Kant therefore lays down that there are twelve forms, or “categories” as he terms them, in the mind corresponding to the twelve species of judgments; thus, for instance, the mind has the necessary, permanent, and universal ideas of unity, multiplicity, and totality, just as the notion of the subject in any judgment must be either *one* (as, *e.g.*, “a man stands before me”) or *many* (as, *e.g.*, “many books are in the British Museum”), or *a whole* (as, *e.g.*, “a nation has many units”).

To the eyes of Kant the mind is endowed from the moment of its birth with certain necessary qualities; it has certain innate subjective forms or conditions of thought which mould, fashion, and shape every experience, impression, perception, and sensation that comes within the range of its influence. Just as, when I look through coloured spectacles on the landscape, everything that I see partakes of the colour of the medium of my sight, the snow around me becoming black or purple or green as the case may be, so, says Kant, does the mind colour and transform everything that it knows. This is more especially true of the second great division of these mental moulds or shapes, these innate and permanent forms, comprising the two sensuous intuitions of Space and

Time. They are not, like the twelve categories, mere forms or moulds of thought *as thought*, apart altogether from objects of sensation, "containing only," as Kant expresses it,* "the logical faculty of uniting *à priori* to all experience in consciousness the manifold" (or complete factors given in intuition); but "based as regards their origin upon sensibility," and limited in their operation to the sphere of wholly sensuous and corporeal objects. The first of these forms of intuition—Space—does not represent, to quote from Kant:

any property of *things in themselves* . . . nor any determination of objects such as attaches to the objects themselves, and would remain, even though all subjective conditions of the intuition were abstracted. . . . Space is nothing else than the form of all phenomena [or appearances] of the external sense, that is, the subjective condition of the sensibility under which alone external intuition is possible.†

Similarly, our mental states, the representations we make to ourselves of external sensations, the consciousness of our own personal existence, are all made to take place under the form of *time*. "Time," says Kant, "lies at the foundation of all our intuitions . . . [it] is the formal condition, *à priori*, of all phenomena whatsoever."‡ We cannot think except inasmuch as our thought is presented to us as occurring in time. But this, like the form or intuition of space which moulds and governs every external act, is really an illusion due to a perfectly subjective state of the mind, that has by its very constitution to think of its every internal phase as in time, as of all external sensations as taking place in space.§ We have no grounds for thinking either that these mental states of imagination, memory, intellectual perception, &c., are not timeless in themselves, or that the sensations of our external senses of sight and touch are not non-spatial and unextended. Were other intellectual beings to exist whose minds were fashioned

* "Critique of Pure Reason," tr. by Meiklejohn, p. 184.

† *Op. cit.* pp. 25, 26.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 28, 30.

§ Kant admits the objectivity of time in a sense of his own. "We cannot," he says, "say 'all things are in time' because . . . we [thereby] abstract and make no mention of any sort of intuition of things. . . . If we add the condition . . . and say 'all things, *as phenomena*, that is, objects of sensuous intuition, are in time,' then the proposition has its sound objective validity" (*op. cit.* p. 31). Yet in the same page he teaches distinctly that "Time is merely a subjective condition of our (human) intuition . . . and in itself, independently of the mind or subject, is nothing."

differently from ours, divested of these innate *à priori* forms and conditions, they would apprehend objects without any reference to space, and would be conscious of their mental states, their thoughts, imaginations, memories, and desires apart altogether from any notion of time. All that we can know are things as they appear to us—phenomena, appearances, moulded, shaped, twisted, and conditioned by the mental forms through which they pass; to that ultimate reality, that objective and permanent *substratum* that lies behind the fitful and passing shadows that are all that the mind can grasp or know, to the *noumenon* or the thing as it is in itself (the “ding an sich”), to that dim, far-off cause of all our knowledge we can never penetrate or reach. It is, to use Kant’s own metaphor,* a land, or rather an island enclosed by Nature herself within unchangeable limits. “It is the land of truth” (an attractive because unexplored country) “surrounded by a wide and stormy ocean, the region of illusion, where many a fog-bank, many an iceberg, seems to the mariner on his voyage of discovery a new shore, and while constantly deluding him with vain hopes, engages him in dangerous adventures, from which he never can desist, and which he never can bring to a termination.”

We know things as they appear when reflected upon the distorted mirror of our minds; we know them not as they are *apart from us* and the subjective condition under which we have to place them in every act of consciousness by a necessary and unchangeable law. Kant maintains the existence of a *noumenon*, an objective reality beyond consciousness and utterly outside the reach of our intellectual powers, as the necessary cause that accounts for the awakening of our mental acts of knowledge. He is thus not a thorough-paced Idealist, like Berkeley and Hume, but, while denying with them the possibility of an immediate apprehension of an external reality, he asserts its existence as a necessary supposition, although of its *nature* the mind can know nothing.

It would take too long to state at length the systems of the other Transcendentalists, such as Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling. It will be enough to say that they so developed and expanded his theory of knowledge as to teach that the elements and

* *Op. cit.* p. 178.

sources of mental sensations and impressions can in no way be derived from objects existing outside the conscious and thinking subject. Although they explain their doctrine in different and, indeed, mutually destructive ways, they agree in this: that the *soul* is itself the *one cause* of all its manifold ideas, and constructs from its fertile resources, by an innate vigorous force, every object and thing that it knows. Knowledge, says Fichte, is nothing else but creation; the *ego*, the conscious person, knows in the very act of production, nay, it *creates* or "posits" *itself* in the selfsame instant that it becomes conscious of itself.* To such lengths do the apostles of advanced Idealism proceed!

On reviewing the various phases of philosophic thought, from Des Cartes and Berkeley to Kant and Fichte, what strikes one at the end as a solid argument for the validity of our ordinary experience of an objective, material world, against which the waves of scepticism break and beat in vain, is the discordance and variance between themselves of the prophets of Idealistic teaching. No two of them are in harmony; the impugners of Realism agree not together. With some, as with Locke, a material world does exist outside the mind, although we cannot *immediately* perceive it; with others, as with Berkeley, no such material world exists. The *cause* of our sensations is a *spiritual* substance other than ourselves, says Berkeley; not so, answers Hume, but the mind itself is that cause—we have no more knowledge of a *spiritual* extra-mental substance than we have of a *material*; therefore every sensation takes its rise from the mind alone. The conscious person is an abiding and permanent reality if we would believe Kant; a mere cluster of passing ideas according to Hume. There is behind the phenomena conjured by the mind real things whose true nature and conditions we can, however, never know, teaches Kant; but, argues Fichte, why should not the *ego*, the thinking subject, be also phenomenal, also an appearance? and, if so, how

* Huxley argues ingeniously that this *ne plus ultra* of Idealism is implied in Berkeley's writings ("Principles of Human Knowledge," §§ lxxvi., lxxxix., cxxv., cxlv., cf. ed. parts i. and ii. *passim*). "If *esse* is *percipi*, spirit itself can have no existence except as a perception, hypostatised into a 'self,' or as a perception of some other spirit. In the former case objective reality vanishes; in the latter, there would seem to be the need of an infinite series of spirits each perceiving the others" (Huxley, "Collected Essays," vol. ix. note 8 to p. 66).

can we be sure of *its* real nature as a *thing in itself*, much less of the existence of any *noumenal* objects which lie beyond consciousness, as necessary to account for those appearances of external things of which the mind lays hold by its cognitive acts? If what we see and feel and know are *appearances*, may not the mind itself, which equally becomes an object of knowledge by self-consciousness, be also an *appearance*? And if an appearance, then the appearance of the denizens of a material and living world which cling to that phenomenal and unreal mind, may be only as much creations of the unaided mind as the mind itself is a creation of that awakening of the *ego* or person to consciousness from the deep sleep of an impersonal and unconscious state.

These being the results, so divergent and so diametrically opposed, of such criticism, we have a just and a legitimate right to suspect the critical method employed. But it is when we proceed to examine the *principles*, and to submit to a rigid scrutiny the arguments and conclusions, of Idealists, that we see the fallacy of their line of thought and are content to accept the practical judgment of our common sense.

This practical judgment, indeed, supplies in itself an *argumentum ad hominem*. We can, with a certainty of popular assent, impale writers like Hume on the horns of a dilemma. Either, we argue, they are right or they are wrong. If right, then the conscious mind is the one objective reality, and the Idealist may spare himself the pains of writing his books and publishing his arguments, for his readers, the paper and the print, the very pen which he seems to hold in his hand, are pure phantoms and fictions, the vapoury creations of his own subjective mind. If, on the other hand, our opponents are wrong, *cadit questio*, the victory is on the side of Realism.*

This popular argument certainly has its force, as also has that founded on the physiological processes admitted by all as essential preliminaries and concomitants to every sensation. All the chief truths of Pathology, Anatomy, and Physiology become meaningless fictions, a vast conspiracy of fraud, if the real existence of an animated organism, a human body of

* This argument has been thus summarised by a caustic writer: "Bishop Berkeley says there is no matter; therefore it does not matter what Bishop Berkeley says. Out of his own mouth he is condemned."

visible, palpable flesh and blood, bone, tissues, nerves, and fibres, be denied except in thought. Again, physical science in all its branches, every discovery of the present century in whatever sphere of human activity—the truths, vast and overwhelming, of astronomy and geology, the beneficial investigations in medicine and chemistry, and the concordance of the teaching of every scientist, astronomer, doctor, and chemist, with the certainty of the existence of an extra-mental universe—verify above dispute or cavil this fundamental and all-pervading conviction.

The chief strength, however, of the Idealistic position consists, as has been already stated, in the undoubted fact that the mind alone is responsible for the last and most important stage of sensation. Reflection tells us that it is our conscious selves who complete every act of apprehension. No knowledge of any object whatever can exist unless the *mind* is conscious of it—is aroused, in other words, to realise the existence of what is presented to it. And what it knows ultimately in the moment of awakened consciousness is nothing else but an idea, a spiritual image of some reality.

Now, we can admit at the outset without demur that, to quote a well-known writer: "All sensations alike require mental acts of inference and interpretation to convert them into perceptions and sources of knowledge."*

Personality [as Mr. Illingworth says in a recent work] is our tacitly acknowledged standard of reality, and other things are accounted real in proportion as they are related . . . the sphere of personality. Thus, my friends, my neighbours, my property, the books that I have read, the science that I have acquired, the deeds that I have done . . . "my star that dartles [*sic*] the red and the blue," are more real than all the world besides, with which as yet I have only negative relations.†

That things are real in proportion as they are related to us, and that atoms and their properties as revealed by science are not more real than the sensible impressions which they create in us, will be evident from the following illustration of the same writer:

Take [he says] the sunset . . . a series of ethereal vibrations, merely

* "Divine Immanence," by J. R. Illingworth, p. 51.

† *Op. cit.* pp. 52, 53.

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mechanical in origin, whose total effect is to create in us an optical delusion, making the sun and not the earth appear to move. Yet, as men watch its appearances, thoughts and feelings arise in their hearts that move their inmost being in unnumbered ways. Youth is fired with high ideals, age consoled with peaceful hopes . . . mourners are comforted, weary ones rested, artists inspired, lovers united, worldlings purified and softened as they gaze. In a short half-hour all is over . . . the mechanical process has come to an end; the gold has melted into grey. But countless souls, meanwhile, have been soothed and softened and uplifted by that evening benediction from the far-off sky; and the course of human life to-day is modified and moulded by the setting of yesterday's sun.*

So, too, we can see at once that a piece of music, a sonata or a symphony, is more real to its audience than the acoustic laws which cause it or the instruments upon which it is performed. We can grant, then, at once that every sensation and perception is dependent to some degree upon the conscious person for its reality. But does it follow that such sensations and perceptions are derived from, and point to, no outside extra-mental existences? Surely our consciousness teaches us the exact reverse. In the very moment when the mind apprehends the sensation it is possessed with a deep-rooted certainty that the sensation starts from something *outside itself* which acts upon it, and which it does not *create* but *receive*: in a word, the mind recognises itself as *passive* and not active, its sensations as passive operations flooding it with knowledge from without. When I am conscious of seeing or hearing or touching something, I find in the act of the several sensations that an external reality—a red book, a musical harmony, a hard ground—is borne in on me irresistibly from outside. If sight and hearing and touch were mere phases of my mind, I would surely apprehend their operations as *active* operations whose objects were within and not external to me.

Moreover, if the soul's activity were the one cause of every sensation, either they would take place in obedience to the whim and wish of our will, or they would be evolved necessarily by a natural law. But neither fact is the case: not the former, as is evident, for if I could cause sensations of external things at pleasure, there would be nothing to prevent me from

* *Op. cit.* p. 53.

experiencing forthwith the agreeable sensation of the feel of crisp bank-notes to any amount on the table before me, which, alas! I cannot do; not the second, since, as Idealists are the first to admit, the soul is spiritual and without parts, but the things which we see, feel, and perceive are material and highly complex. Now, effects should correspond with the nature of their cause, according to the old trite axiom "*Nemo dat quod non habet*"; if, therefore, all sensations were pure effects of the soul's activity, they should correspond and answer to that soul's nature, which is spiritual and simple; whereas we know as a fact that bodies and material things made up of many parts are the objects of our sensations. Therefore, from experience given to us in the act of sensation, we are convinced with a positive certainty which no subtle argument or plausible sophistry can break or bend, *first*, that the mind is not active nor creative but passive and receptive when it is aroused to consciousness of an external reality; *secondly*, that the objects of our sensations are corporeal and material, not spiritual, representations, as they ought to be if the mind itself were the cause of their origin. Now, the experience of consciousness is an ultimate fact from which there is no escape; witnesses at its bar are unimpeachable; it is the Supreme Court from whose decision there is no appeal. If, then, Idealists refuse to accept the plain unequivocal ruling that every one must acknowledge as given to him in the moment when he apprehends a sensation, we can only leave them to the condemnation of their own inner selves.

And it is this same argument of the supreme authority of our inner conscious personal experience that destroys Berkeley's theory of an extra-mental spiritual cause of our sensations. For it is plain that we are conscious, not of this spiritual author of what we feel and perceive, but, on the contrary, of a multitude of objects possessed with an individual objective existence. Unless we admit that our consciousness is a *lie*, we must bow to its clear evidence of a real extra-mental world, not solely of a spiritual extra-mental cause.

Moreover, if this cause existed as the one reality outside ourselves, no sensation would be connected with another; there would be no condition attached to their sequence. For example, there would be nothing to prevent us from feeling the sensation of being burnt long before the fire was lit, or of seeing the sun

in our room without looking out of the window.* But we know as a fact of constant and unfailing experience that our sensations *are* subject to necessary laws, and banded together in a certain sequence and order, so that it is impossible for one of them to exist without another—for us to see the sun when the blind is drawn, or to be drowned while standing on dry land.

We pass on to consider the arguments of the German Transcendental school. In the first place, it must be said that Kant's argument that we cannot apprehend any object of the external sense as unextended—that is, without relation to space—or an object of the internal sense, such as imagination, memory, or perception, apart from time, should not stop where it does. If his theory were true, that our minds are bounded and conditioned from the very outset in every act of sensation or knowledge by certain *à priori* forms or moulds, so that they must look at everything through the coloured glasses of space, time, and the twelve categories, the conclusion ought to be drawn that it would also be impossible to experience a touch, a taste, or a sound, without a subjective *à priori* knowledge of the nature of the touch, taste, or sound. There is no more reason on Kant's hypothesis why our senses of sight, hearing, &c., should not be innate mental forms or conditions, than there is for the existence of his arbitrary *à priori* forms of space and time. He admits that the mind can acquire knowledge through the five senses, without the necessity of innate conditions, as regards their proper objects—colour, sapidity, &c.—and on the same principles he ought to admit that, granted that there are external corporeal objects, and that they can act upon us, there is nothing to prevent the mind from perceiving as a passive subject the spatial qualities of the bodies, and the relation to time of its own internal states and thoughts. In effect, Kant assumes without proof that Space and Time are part of the original furniture and native endowments of the mind, while they may just as possibly have been

* S. Thomas expresses this argument in a different way when he points out that when, for example, we warm our hands at the fire we do not merely experience the sensation of heat, but the heat of a particular fire, and concludes that this connection of a sensation with a *material* agent is fatal to the theory of its attribution to some other cause. To give his own words: "Si (haec sensatio) in *organis* ab alio agente fieret, tactus etsi sentiret calorem, non tamen sentiret calorem *ignis*, nec sentiret ignem esse calidum." (Qq. disp. "De Potent," q. 3, a. 7).

acquired at first confusedly from sensations of extended bodies and of perpetual change in everything that exists (which bodies and changes are real and extra-mental), and afterwards completed and perfected by frequent and uniform experience. Space and Time can quite reasonably be conceived not as innate ideas, but as notions derived from objects and their conditions without the mind. And so, too, of the *categories*, or forms of thought apart from external or internal intuition. Kant, furthermore, takes for granted the false theories of Des Cartes and Locke, that we have no immediate knowledge of things affecting us, but only of our own mental states. Consciousness emphatically contradicts this assumption when it assures us that in sensation the soul stretches out through the objects of the several senses and seizes hold of the reality beyond—pierces the veil—passes straightway from the image of the thing presented to it on to the thing itself. The object of the sensation—the red rose in my garden, the book in my hand—shines forth in all its reality through the transparent representation of it that affects the soul. Kant, again, inconsistently demands an objective *noumenal* world as the cause of the *phenomenal* world of mental activity, seeing that he denies more than once that we can know anything about it—"the thing as it is in itself," he says, "must ever remain unknown to us;"* and further, since he numbers *causality* itself among the *categories*, or purely subjective and illusive mental forms.† Lastly, the forms which he asserts to be native qualities of the intellect involve mutually destructive notions. Categories are stated to exist in the same subject side by side with categories of a diametrically opposed nature. Thus, Kant enumerates the "forms" of possibility and of impossibility, of necessity and of contingency, of existence and of non-existence, of reality and of negation,‡ and hence we have the unthinkable conclusion that the intellect is affected by conflicting and wholly irreconcilable qualities.

Such being the contradictions and unintelligibilities of the ablest of Idealists, we can at the end of our study of the critical analysis of our thought be content to accept the teaching of the voices of common sense, of science of all kinds, and, above all, of the inner experience of our own conscious selves.

* *Op. cit.* p. 188. Cf. pp. 185-187.

† *Op. cit.* p. 64.

‡ *Ibid.*

This outside world, so full of beauty, so intimately bound up with our lives, whether in the way of pleasure or of pain, is not, cannot be, the mere empty phantom of a disordered dream, or the creation of a fevered and wayward mind. The bright pageant that passes before us on the stage of life in endless succession, adorned with many colours, bespeaks too much reality for *that*. Just as we are conscious to the foundation of our being of the deep truth of our own existence—so conscious that we can only realise with an effort that there was a time when we were not, and that a time is coming when our short life-sojourn shall end—in the same way, and with an equal degree of intensity, we are filled with a certainty that a material world external to us, and other beings possessed with a similar conviction, exist. We can no more reject the one basal belief than the other; we have no more right to deny the reality of the extra-mental universe of men and things, borne in as it is upon us by the weight of an ever-present conscious experience, than we have to deny the reality of our own personal existence. Fichte has brought idealism to a *reductio ad absurdum*, and he has done well. Accepting Kant's principles and tenets, as Kant did in the main those of Berkeley and Hume, he logically concluded that the mind which is capable, in defiance of all experience, of moulding its sensations independently of objective truth, is capable too of creating or "positing" itself.* And with that sensible conclusion for them to digest we take our leave of Idealists. They have begun by destroying the validity of the evidence of consciousness as to the nature of its sensations; they have ended by denying the objective existence of the subject of that consciousness, even the individual person, even themselves.

W. R. CARSON.

* Gautama Buddha seems to have anticipated Fichte's negation of the permanent reality of the mind or *ego*. He argued, according to Professor Huxley, the "non-existence of a substance of mind," reducing "the All to co-existence and sequences of phenomena beneath and beyond which there is nothing cognoscible" ("Collected Essays," vol. ix. p. 66).

ART. VII.—TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE HEBREW TEXT.

THERE is no more satisfactory proof of the growing life and vigour of the Catholic Church in England than the increasing interest which is being taken in the study of Sacred Scripture. Not that Catholics were neglectful of the claims of Holy Writ in the dark days that have passed away. Such was not the case. But, in the stress and hardship of the penal times, it was seldom possible for them to devote to these studies the time and labour necessary for the production of anything of really permanent value. The effects of these evil days are now, however, passing away, and Catholics in this country are once more settling down to the scientific study of the sacred books—a labour which has always been cherished in the Church from the days of Origen, Jerome and our own Venerable Bede, through the so-called Dark Ages, right up to our own time.

In the following pages it is proposed to deal with a wide field of Biblical research, still lying open for the investigation of the student—viz. the restoration of the genuine text of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is a subject which yields to none in interest and importance; but still, it is true to say, that until a comparatively recent date, little really useful labour has been devoted to it. To Catholics it cannot fail to be gratifying that the first scientific treatise on the subject* was from the pen of the great oratorian, Father Richard Simon, who in the year 1685 published a work which may still be studied with profit by the textual critic. The object of the following pages is to bring before the reader as clearly and concisely as possible the position of the Catholic student in regard to this branch of study, the relation of the present Hebrew text to the original, and the means which are available for the recovery of the original text.

* "Histoire du texte Hebreu de l'Ancien Testament."

I.

It is naturally of importance to ascertain how far the Catholic may hold that corruption has gone in the original text of the Old Testament. Probably no scholar would maintain in these days that either the Septuagint or the Latin Vulgate, or the Greek New Testament has come down to us without alteration. Already, as far back as the early part of the third century, Origen took in hand the emendation of the Septuagint, owing to the corrupt state in which it was. Even before that time it is acknowledged by all scholars that many and serious errors had crept into the MSS. of the New Testament; and it is matter of notoriety that the Council of Trent ordered a new edition of the Vulgate to be prepared, because of the inaccuracies which had crept into it during the Middle Ages. Yet these were, or had been, all three texts in general and recognised use in the Church:

But [as M. Loisy says*] the Church has never pretended to be infallible in the material preservation of the Sacred Text, in as far as the integrity of this text is not inseparably bound up with the doctrinal substance which it contains. The Church could not employ, she never has employed, a text the alterations in which would have compromised the doctrine of faith or morals; but she might have employed, and she actually has employed, texts which, from a literary point of view, had suffered much.

Such being the case in regard to the Latin and Greek texts which have been actually used by the Church, what is to be said of the Hebrew text, which lacks that guarantee of authenticity, conferred either by express declaration of, or official use in the Church? M. Loisy goes so far as to say: "*On pourrait soutenir qu'il est altéré même dans les passages concernant la foi et les mœurs, sans contrevenir aux principes de la théologie.*"† That is certainly a strong statement, and goes beyond what is usually set down in Scripture text-books. Still, it is not easy to see how the substantial integrity of the Hebrew text can be maintained on purely theological grounds, in face of the attitude taken up by Catholic theologians in the past regarding the Hebrew text, and seeing that such men

* "*Histoire du texte Hébreu de l'Ancien Testament*," p. 204.

† *L.c.* p. 207.

as St. John Chrysostom, St. Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine, together with nearly all modern theologians, lay down that entire books of Scripture may perish and actually have perished.* On this point the following words of Cardinal Franzelin may not prove uninteresting :

To the office of the Church, with the assistance of the Holy Ghost, belongs [he writes]† the infallible guardianship of the Word of God in general, and of the Written Word in particular. But this is not to be understood in the sense that the assistance of the Holy Spirit extends so far that at no time can any inspired text, passage, or whole book be lost. For, although in regard to the preservation of the sacred books, a special Providence of God ought to be acknowledged both in the time of the Old and of the New Testament; still, the promised assistance of the Holy Spirit and the consequent infallibility of the Church in the custody of the deposit of faith, does not necessarily include the indefectible preservation of all the books which are divinely inspired—and therefore contain the Written Word of God—with all their parts. The reason is because the inspired books are not the only and absolutely necessary instrument for preserving revelation; and, therefore, the Holy Spirit might preserve the integrity of revealed truth by the Church, whilst permitting the loss of a book or part of a book.

From these words it is evident that the Cardinal did not attach undue importance to the transmission in their integrity of the Sacred Books. As a matter of fact, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, what almost looks like a prejudice against the Hebrew text seems to have existed among Catholic theologians. Indeed, Cornely says that during that period

Most Catholic interpreters, carried away apparently by the heat of controversy, declared the existing Hebrew text to be so corrupt, owing to the malice or culpable negligence of the Jews, that it is of scarcely any authority.‡

And he very truly adds :

If it can be shown, as many formerly asserted, that the Jews by fraud and malice had corrupted the Hebrew books, so as either to introduce a false and impious sense, or to take away the revealed doctrine of faith, then it is obvious that their authenticity and authority are entirely destroyed.

* Cf. Cornely, "Introductio," vol. i. p. 228.

† "De Deo Trino," ed. ii. Romæ, 1874, p. 42.

‡ "Introductio," vol. i. p. 265.

Nor were such views as these confined to mediæval and later Catholic writers. The same opinions prevailed in the early Church and found expression in the words of such men as St. John Chrysostom,* in the fourth century and St. Justin Martyr † in the second. They are even to be found in the writings of Origen and St. Jerome, both of whom knew Hebrew, and indeed may be said to have been the first critics of the Hebrew text. Thus, Father Richard Simon writes in one place, "it cannot be doubted that Origen has often accused the Jews of corrupting Holy Scripture, and St. Jerome has also blamed them on the same account.‡

From what has been said, it will appear that the attitude of ecclesiastical writers towards the Hebrew text has not been particularly friendly, either in the early centuries or in later days. This will remain true, even if it be admitted, as it ought to be, that the attitude of the early Fathers towards the Hebrew text has not been always understood. For it must not be forgotten that the Old Testament of the early Christians was the Greek Septuagint, and that few of the early Fathers knew Hebrew. When, therefore, new Greek translations began to circulate, and they were found to differ a good deal from the old, which had been used for centuries by the Jews themselves, it is not to be wondered at that Christian controversialists should have charged the Jews with tampering with the text.§

This admission does not in any way alter the fact that the public opinion of the early Church was hostile to the Hebrew text. And perhaps nothing shows this more clearly than the attitude on the subject of two Hebraists like Origen and St. Jerome. St. Jerome's real opinion of the Hebrew text is shown by his frequent reference to it as the "*Hebraica veritas*," by his vigorous defence of it against the Septuagint, and by his having undertaken the vast labour of translating it into Latin. Nor is it less certain that Origen had a high opinion of the value and integrity of the Hebrew Scriptures.|| Yet at times

* Cf. "The Jews lost some books through carelessness; others they burnt or tore up" ("Comment." in Matt. ii. 23).

† "Dial. cum Tryphone."

‡ "Histoire Critique du V. Test." book i. c. 19.

§ Sometimes the accusation was that the Jews "followed a bad interpretation" only. (Simon, *l.c.* i. 18.)

|| Cf. Simon, *l.c.* i. 19.

both of these writers use strong language regarding the corruption of the text by the Jews. Why so? Apparently, because the public opinion of the time ran so strongly against the Hebrew text, that they felt themselves obliged now and then to follow the current. St. Jerome defends himself for his inconsistency by the example of other Fathers, and says of them: "*Interdum coguntur loqui, non quod sentiunt, sed quod necesse est, dicunt.*" As Father Simon says: "When St. Jerome accuses the Jews of having corrupted the Scriptures, he speaks after the manner of other Fathers" (p. 19). The same explanation applies to Origen, and is a clear proof of the feeling of the early Church against the purity of the Hebrew text.

The reader will almost expect, after what has gone before, to have a proposition enunciated entirely discrediting the value of the Hebrew text. He need not be alarmed on that score. The remarks which have been made are intended to show that the textual critic of the Old Testament need not feel constrained by any want of "elbow-room" in pursuing his researches. But, on the other hand, there is no reason to anticipate that the conclusions of the most radical critic regarding the Hebrew text will materially shake our confidence in its value. The fact is, that modern research, while entirely rejecting the views of the two Buxtorfs and such men,* as to the inspiration of the vowel-points, has come to recognise the importance of the Hebrew text, and to deny anything like serious corruption of the text on the part of the Jews.†

Nor is it to be understood that certain strong words of the Abbé Loisy, quoted above, give expression to the personal opinion of that learned Biblical scholar in regard to the value of the Old Testament text. Such is not the case. In the words cited, M. Loisy was merely discussing the position of the text from the standpoint of pure theology. But in the following words he sets forth clearly both his own view and that of modern criticism as to the state of the Hebrew text and the function of criticism in regard to it:‡

* This school had great influence on the Protestants of Switzerland and Germany. The Massoretic text was canonised without restriction by the reformed churches (*cf.* Buhl, *l.c.* p. 242).

† There are exceptions—*e.g.* Lagarde, Geiser, &c.

‡ "Histoire du texte Hébreu," p. 309.

We have already made it sufficiently clear that all the small alterations which one comes across in the Hebrew text, and which for the most part existed in the original of our Vulgate, have no bearing on what relates to the doctrine of faith or morals. In the Hebrew text and in St. Jerome's Vulgate, which is generally in conformity with the Hebrew, these alterations may compromise, in matters of detail, the historical sense of such or such a passage, or it may be that they diminish its literary beauty, its regularity, whether logical, prosodiac, or grammatical. To purify the Bible text from these slight imperfections, which, on account of their insignificance and their great number, might be compared to grains of dust, is to render it more intelligible.

Whilst, therefore, the student need not fear any vexatious restriction in the pursuit of his critical labours, on the other hand there does not seem to be any reason for finding fault with the proposition laid down in ordinary Scripture text-books, that the Hebrew text has come down to us substantially incorrupt, and that it may be truly called a *fons authenticus revelationis*.

II.

Towards the end of last century (1776–80), Bishop Kenicott published at Oxford the readings of 634 Hebrew MSS.,* and a little later (1784–88) the Italian scholar De Rossi published at Parma† the collations of 825 more. As a result of their labours, it became evident that there is a wonderful similarity between the MSS. of the Hebrew text; that there is no trace of such cleavage among them as to make a classification of them into groups and families possible; in a word, that the text now in print is in conformity with the evidence of the MSS.

"If that be the case," one is naturally tempted to exclaim, "The criticism of the Hebrew text is a very simple affair!" The facts are far otherwise. For, as Dr. Buhl says :‡

Even although this imposing agreement has been still more evidently supported documentarily by the oldest recently discovered MSS., yet a thoroughgoing examination proves that the text preserved with such extraordinary care is, after all, only a *Textus receptus*, the relation of which to the original text still remains a question for discussion.

* "Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis Lectionibus,"

† "Varie Lectiones Veteris Testamenti."

‡ "Canon and Text of the Old Testament," p. 233.

How is that? How is it that the existing Hebrew text, though apparently it has been transmitted so faithfully by the MSS., is really far from identical with the original text? What, in other words, is the relation between the existing and the original text?

The history of the text of each of the books may be said to begin with the date of its composition; but it would, moreover, appear that there is a connection between that history and the history of the Old Testament canon.* It is, however, far from definitely settled yet when each of the Old Testament books was first written, or at what time the Hebrew canon was finally closed. The idea that Esdras rewrote from divine inspiration all the canonical books of the Old Testament and fixed the canon once for all may be set aside as entirely discredited.† But whether the Pentateuch in its present form be traced back to Moses, or one adopts the conclusion of modern scholarship, that it owes its origin to the school of Esdras, it seems certain that there is no trustworthy evidence as to how the sacred text was transmitted before the date, in the middle of the fifth century B.C., when Esdras solemnly read the law in the presence of a vast concourse of the people of Jerusalem.‡ At that time neither the canon of the Prophets nor of the Hagiographa was closed; indeed, a considerable number of the sacred books had not been written. When these events took place it would be impossible to discuss here. Nor is it necessary. For the purposes of this paper it is quite enough to say that, "taking the latest dates assigned by good authorities, the law was fully recognised as inspired Scripture by about 450 B.C., the Prophets about 300 B.C., and the Hagiographa about 100 B.C." §

The first period in the history of the Hebrew text, therefore, begins in the middle of the fifth century B.C., and extends to the early part of the second century of our era. We have not, of course, any direct evidence of the state of the text during that time, but we know enough to be able to say that it was

* From the date of their admission to the canon they began to be copied more carefully.

† 4 Es. xiv. It was certainly held by some of the Fathers. Cf. Loisy, "Canon de l'Ancien Testament," pp. 18 *et seq.*

‡ Neh. viii.-x.

§ Kenyon, "The Bible and the Ancient MSS."

a period in which the text was handled with great freedom and copied with great laxity. Thus, speaking of the copies of the Law during the third century B.C., the late Professor Kuenen writes : *

They displayed, of course, the usual type of variants due to the carelessness or caprice of the copyists ; but, beyond these, they manifested divergencies of far greater extent and significance, which can only be understood as the result of deliberate recension of the text, conducted with a relatively high degree of freedom, and in accordance with certain fixed principles.

In these words, the Professor alludes to the copies of the Law only. But they apply with still greater force to the copies of the other books. For it is acknowledged that the text of the Hexateuch has come down to us in a relatively incorrupt state, and was evidently not subjected to the same treatment as Samuel, Kings, Jeremias, Proverbs, or Job. It may be taken, therefore, that all the Old Testament books, even the sacred books of Moses, suffered not merely from the weaknesses of the copyist, but also from the ill-directed zeal of the redactor and revisionist.

This was only to be expected ; for, besides the usual sources of corruption, there were certain special ones operating in the case of the Hebrew text. The most serious of these was, perhaps, the introduction, during this period, of the new "square-shaped" characters in the writing of Hebrew. How this change was effected, or at what precise date, it would be hard to define. But it is certain that the old style of writing in use before the Captivity gave place during this period to the new. Probably the change was begun by Esdras, and affected first only the official copies of the Law. Certainly, for a considerable time both kinds of writing were in use together.† That this must have been a fertile source of confusion for the copyists is obvious, and this all the more because in the new alphabet many of the letters closely resemble one another, and are not easy to distinguish.‡

An instance of how error has crept into the text through

* "The Hexateuch," p. 314.

† Cf. Buhl, *l.c.* p. 201.

‡ ד (daleth), ר (resh) ; ה (he), and ך (heth) ; ב (beth), and ן (caph), ם (mem final), and ם (samech), &c.

resemblance between the letters,* and the consequent mistaking of one phrase for another, is supplied by the Book of Genesis (xlvii. 21). The Hebrew text runs: "And as for the people, he removed them to cities, from one end of the borders of Egypt even to the other." Such a line of action seems quite incredible. Joseph had just bought up all the land of Egypt for the Pharaoh. If this reading be right, he now proceeds to turn it into a wilderness. The Septuagint runs otherwise: "And as for the people, he reduced them to servitude from one end of the borders of Egypt even to the other." These words are reasonable, and fit in with the context. It is evident the traditional Hebrew text is based upon a copy containing a false reading. The Septuagint translator used a correct text, and has handed it down to us.†

Another source of confusion arose from the fact that Hebrew was a language in which only the consonants were written, so that the same combination of letters stood for many different words, depending upon the vowel sound supplied.‡ Clearly, this must have often led to errors of interpretation. To lessen the difficulty, "in those cases where the written indication of the vowel sound seemed specially desirable, letters were added without hesitation, which originally were signs of the consonants connected with the vowels, as direct signs of the corresponding vowels."§ Unfortunately, this uncertain use of the "semi-vowels" only increased the confusion; for, not only were the letters in question insufficient to indicate clearly the different vowel sounds, but, moreover, they were not used consistently; and, even though they had been, mistakes must have arisen, owing to the "semi-vowels" having at one time their own proper consonantal value, at another a supplementary vowel use.

It was owing to this ambiguous use of the letter א, that an error has crept into Job (xxvii. 19). The Hebrew text runs as follows: "The rich man shall lie down, and he shall not be gathered. He openeth his eyes and he is not."

* In this case between ך and ך.

† העביר לערים = he removed to cities, for העביר לעבדים = he reduced to slavery.

‡ As, if in English only consonants were used, *m* and *n* might mean men, man, mean, main, mane, amen, omen, menu, &c. &c.

§ Cf. Buhl, *l.c.* p. 210. The "semi-vowels" are איוה.

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There is evidently a mistake in the first line. "He shall not be gathered" has no meaning. The Septuagint has preserved the true reading, "He shall not arise again," or, "He shall not begin again." Substituting these words for the words of the Massoretic text, both sense and parallelism are satisfied.*

The errors which have been spoken of so far are purely accidental. There are, however, traces of deliberate change in the text as well. The character of the Hebrew language is doubtless responsible for many of these, for Hebrew is wanting in precision and clearness. As M. Loisy says:† "The recital itself is a mere outline, not a picture. To define the thought of the author, the reader must bring something of his own." More than that, words are not unfrequently supplied where they are not wanted, and omitted in more ambiguous passages. Take, as an instance, the following verse of the first book of Samuel (xix. 7): "And Jonathan called David, and Jonathan showed him all these things, and Jonathan brought David to Saul, and he was in his presence." Would not such a sentence be likely to tempt not only the reader, but also the scribe, "to bring something of his own" to define the author's meaning more clearly,‡ especially if he were not a believer in verbal inspiration?

But it must not for a moment be imagined that in those days men *did* believe in verbal inspiration. Who can be surprised that considerable liberty was taken with the Old Testament text in the years that followed Esdras, seeing the freedom with which the New Testament text was handled in the first three centuries and the laxity of quotation among the early Fathers? Apparently, it was the sense that was esteemed; the words were not much regarded. The order of the matter contained in the books was not always strictly adhered to.§ Sometimes even changes may have been made for theological reasons. Thus, not to dwell upon such an unimportant change

* יִבָּרַךְ ="he shall begin again," was taken by a copyist to be the word יִגָּבֵר ="he shall be gathered."

† *L.c.* p. 107.

‡ *Cf.* Loisy, *l.c.* p. 106.

§ *Cf.* Proverbs, Jeremias. Perhaps owing to the books being sometimes copied on loose sheets, which became disarranged.

as that of Baaliada (1 Chron. xiv. 7) into Eliada* (2 Sam. v. 16), because the word "Baal," which in earlier times had been harmlessly applied to the God of Israel, later on became a distinctive appellation of the Canaanitish God; there are instances of more serious changes for similar motives. Perhaps an example is furnished by the twenty-fourth chapter of Job. There, apparently, are the exordium (vv. 1-4) and conclusion (v. 25) of a long complaint delivered by Job against Divine Providence. In the existing Hebrew text, however, the body of the discourse has disappeared, and been replaced by another on a totally different subject. This can hardly be accidental. Is it not rather due to the timidity of some copyist or redactor, who, perhaps, feared that the passage might lead to misunderstandings?†

Enough has now been said to show the adverse conditions under which the Hebrew text was copied in the earlier centuries of its existence, and also, in a general way, the kind of alteration to which it was subjected. And let it not be said that this is mere idle speculation; that there is no means of verifying these statements. An intelligent study of the Hebrew Bible alone is sufficient to show that corruption has in some way crept into it. But the thing is made obvious by comparing the Hebrew text with the Samaritan Pentateuch, which has come down side by side with it for so many centuries; and, above all, by a study of the Septuagint version, which throws light upon the text as it existed long before the Christian era.

When, however, the Palestinian Canon had been finally closed, not later than the year 100 B.C., and a wider gulf began to separate the canonical books from other works of Hebrew literature, greater exactness came to be cultivated in transmitting the sacred writings.

The text of the Prophets and Hagiographa [writes M. Loisy],‡ such as we read them in the Hebrew Bible, was fixed, it seems, towards the end of the first century before our era amongst the Jews of Palestine, though the MSS. of these books were, still less than those of the Law, exempt from variants and slight alterations.

* David's son.

† Cf. Loisy, *l.c.* pp. 124, 269.

‡ *L.c.* p. 133.

But about the beginning of the second century A.D., a sudden and mysterious change took place. The time of laxity and corruption was at an end. The period of the most rigid uniformity began.

From the second century we find the text not merely fixed but uniform; so uniform that the witnesses cannot be separated into groups, representing different recensions, but that one and all they appertain to the same recension, that which is preserved for us in the traditional text of the Hebrew Bible (Loisy, p. 134).

What, then, was the origin of this form of text so faithfully transmitted through the centuries? One thing seems certain: it was not the result of a recension. To mention but a few reasons, the orthography is too inconsistent for that, and so are the grammatical forms, being often archaic in the case of recent, and late in the case of ancient books. Then there is no attempt at bringing parallel passages into uniformity,* nor to remove obvious errors from the text. In a word, the texts employed in the different books are of very unequal value; and there is nothing like the amount of critical apparatus which there would be were the received text the result of serious editing. Strange, in fact, as it may seem, the traditional text seems to have been based upon one single MS.†

When the rising of the pseudo-Messias Barcoziba was put down by the Romans in the year 134, the misery of the Jews of Palestine and throughout Syria was extreme. One hundred and eighty thousand Jews had fallen in battle, besides the vast number which perished by hunger, fire, and pestilence. "Judea was a vast charnel-house. The wretches who succeeded in reaching the desert esteemed themselves favoured by God."‡ A terrible persecution followed. To be a Jew was a crime. The Law was proscribed, the teachers pursued. All hope of prosperity for the Jewish race seemed at an end. But just as, after the cruelties of Antiochus Epiphanes, Judas Maccabeus devoted himself to the task of bringing together again for the

* Cf. Ps. xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii.

† So Vigouroux, Martin, Loisy, Wellhausen, Driver, Olshausen, Cornill, &c. It is just as well no recension was attempted, as with the critical notions of that time and school the results would probably have been disastrous.

‡ Cf. for this revolt and its results, Renan, "L'Eglise Chrétienne," cc. 11, 12.

Jews their sacred books; and, as after the disastrous war with Titus and the destruction of the Temple, the Jews turned with renewed fervour to the study of the Law,* so now, under the guidance of the disciples of Aquila, they seemed to have centred all their hopes in the sacred books.† Large numbers of MSS. had doubtless perished during the persecution. A few copies would have been collected, as soon as circumstances allowed, at the new schools in Galilee. A copy of each book—not necessarily of equal value in each case—would have been selected for transmission. The text thus chosen was copied with the utmost care, the very imperfections and corrections‡ in the originals being handed down through the MSS.

The text thus obtained imposed itself through the authority of the Galilean school, known under the name of the School of Tiberias, and which was for many centuries the true centre of Judaism (Loisy, p. 142).

Thus, or in some such way, was the present Hebrew text fixed and stereotyped. From that time forward no attempt was made to emend it. The one care of the scribes was to hand it down unaltered from age to age.

The story of that transmission is soon told. During the period of the Thalmudists, extending from the second to the fifth century, the text, as it stood, was subjected to the closest scrutiny. No peculiarity was attributed to chance; all had a hidden meaning. The number of letters in each book, the middle letter, and similar minute trivialities were carefully noted and recorded. Obvious errors were not removed; and when the sense absolutely required the substitution of a different word from that in the text, then the alternative word was supplied by the reader, but not written in the MS.; thus giving rising to the system of corrections now to be met with in the Hebrew Bible, and known as the *keri* (read) and *ketib* (written).

It will easily be imagined that these observations gradually grew in number, and the wonder is how the scribes were able

* Cf. Renan, "Les Evangiles," ch. i.

† Aquila himself, whom his countrymen likened to Esdras and even Moses, had been flayed alive during the persecution.

‡ Cf. the larger letters, *litteræ suspensæ*, &c. &c.

to remember them and hand them down from age to age. For in this period they were not committed to writing, but transmitted by oral tradition. One would be tempted to say that mankind would not have been much the poorer had they been consigned to oblivion. But it must not be forgotten that this exaggerated idea of the sanctity of the text contributed at least not a little to the fidelity with which it was transmitted; and that, amidst a mass of useless matter, some important hints are contained as to the text.

Two very important events in the history of the text took place during the next, the Massoretic period. The textual notes of the earlier period were gradually committed to writing, and the system of vowel points was introduced. At what precise date this last change took place it is not easy to define. It is certain that neither Origen nor St. Jerome knew of this vowel notation; and Dr. Buhl says: "The post-Thalmudist writings, 'Sepher Thora' and 'Masseket Sopherim,' knew of no system of signs."* On the other hand, Mar Natronai II., who taught in the middle of the ninth century, declares them to have been the work of the doctors in the time of Our Lord. They must therefore have been of considerable antiquity in his time. It will be probably quite safe to follow the teaching of modern scholars and trace them back to the middle of the seventh century.

There are MSS. now in existence dating back to the Massoretic period; for that period extended to the eleventh century, and, to name only one, the St. Petersburg Bible was copied in the year 1009. The most extraordinary precautions were taken during all this time to secure fidelity in the transmission of the sacred books, especially the synagogue rolls. The roll itself must be made from the skin of a pure animal; each skin must contain so many columns, each column so many lines, each line so many letters. The copy must be lined throughout, special ink used, and an authentic MS. must be the *exemplar*; no letter, not even a *yod*, must be written from memory. Between every letter a hair's breadth must intervene, between every word the breadth of a narrow consonant, between every section the breadth of nine consonants,

* *L.c.* p. 214.

between every book three lines; whilst the fifth book of Moses must end with a line.* These are but a few of the regulations of the *Thalmud* for copying a synagogue roll. The copies in which they were not strictly observed were condemned to be destroyed. Some of the precautions may seem puerile, but it cannot be denied that at least they secured unexampled accuracy in the transmission of the text.

The first part of the Hebrew Bible to be printed was the book of Psalms at Bologna in 1477. In 1482 the *Pentateuch* was printed, the *Prophets* in 1486 at Soncino, and the *Hagiographa* at Naples in 1487.

The first complete Bible appeared at Soncino in 1488. During the next two hundred years many editions were printed, till, in 1705, Van der Hooght brought out an edition at Amsterdam, which, till quite recently, has been the received text. Of late years Hahn and Theile have edited the Hebrew Bible; and, last of all, an edition was begun in 1861 by F. Delitzsch † and Baer, which is not yet entirely before the public.

These various printed editions reproduce, with remarkable success, the text which was stereotyped in the second century. They contain practically the text of the *Thalmudist* quotations, of St. Jerome's *Vulgate*, of the transcriptions of the Hebrew in the *Hexapla* of Origen, and of the later Greek translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus.

III.

A fairly clear idea will in all probability have been obtained, from what has gone before, of the relation between our Hebrew Bible and the original Hebrew text. It will have been seen that, although the "received text" is the text of the MSS. and of the second century of our era, it is not the original text of the sacred books. A further question therefore remains to be answered. How are the changes which have crept into our Bible to be removed? How is the original text to be recovered?

* Cf. Davidson, "Introduction to the Old Testament," p. 89.

† The lamented death of Fr. Delitzsch has, no doubt, retarded the appearance of this edition.

The first thing to be done is to restore to its primitive purity the present or, as it is called, the Massoretic text; in other words, to restore as far as possible the text that was fixed in the second century. For, as Dr. Buhl says: *

Never should the critic of the text lose sight of the fact, that the Hebrew, as the immediate authority on the text, is always to be regarded as worthy of preference to an indirect auxiliary.

It is true the traditional text has been handed down with marvellous care; still, error has insinuated itself into it, and must be removed. For this purpose the publications of Kennicott and De Rossi, supplemented by such MSS. as have come to light during the present century, will be of advantage. But greater assistance will in all probability be derived from the modern editions of the Massoretic treatises; for, though they contain much idle speculation, they also afford a good deal of useful information relating to the text, some of it going back to the period before the introduction of vowel points.

The fragments that remain of the second column of Origen's Hexapla, containing the Hebrew text transcribed in Greek characters, are also of great importance, for they contain, in addition to the consonants, the vowel sounds which were filled in by the reader. Further evidence on the same subject is supplied by the Syriac version,[†] the quotations of the Old Testament in the Talmud, and the Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. But the greatest assistance is to be derived from St. Jerome's Vulgate, belonging to the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century; for St. Jerome used a text which must have very closely resembled the original of the "received text," and in his translation he, as a general rule, keeps very close to the Hebrew. With the aid of the light thrown upon the problem from these various sources, there is every prospect of being able to restore the Massoretic text to a form very closely resembling that in which it was fixed early in the second century.

* *L.c.* p. 244.

† Made about A.D. 150. Its defect is its probable adulteration from the LXX. There is a MS. in the British Museum of A.D. 464.

But the text of the second century was not the primitive text. To reach that, the critic must get behind the original of the "received text," and find some means of removing the corruptions which had already crept into it in the centuries preceding the coming of Christ. It is chiefly with the aid of the Targums, the Septuagint version, and the Samaritan Pentateuch that he will be able to accomplish that task.*

1. "In the book of Nehemias (ch. viii.) it appears that when Esdras read the Law in the presence of the people, the Levites caused the people to understand the Law. So they read in the book of the Law distinctly and gave the sense." In the years following the Captivity the knowledge of Hebrew grew daily less among the Jews, so that the practice alluded to in the book of Nehemias, of following the reading of the Scriptures by an interpretation of them in the familiar Aramaic tongue became increasingly necessary. In course of time these synagogal paraphrases or "Targums" came to assume a more or less fixed form, and, when committed to writing, became the popular Bible of the Palestinian Jews. As they exist at present, the Targums evidently include layers of different age, most of them very loose translations of the original. Still they are of considerable importance in the restoration of the Hebrew text, because the most ancient strata of the Targums seem to have preserved some of the earliest synagogal readings.†

2. There can be no doubt that great discrimination is necessary in using the Septuagint as an instrument of criticism. The circumstances of its composition will dictate this. For the Septuagint is the work of different ages, and of men who were very unequal in point of skill. Thus, although, no doubt, the Pentateuch was translated in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247), "the subsequent parts of the Old Testament were probably completed gradually during the course of the two following centuries."‡ And again :

* A work called "The Book of Jubilees," written in Hebrew-Aramaic about the time of Our Lord, is of importance as far as regards the Book of Genesis. It is a chronological commentary extending from the Creation to Moses.

† The most important of the Targums are the Targum Onkelos (a Babylonian Targum on the Pentateuch), and the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Prophets.

‡ Driver, "Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel," p. xli. On the LXX. see Dr. Van den Biesen, DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1895.

The Pentateuch is the best translated part of the historical books; the Psalter is tolerably well done, and though few psalms are wholly free from error, the general sense is fairly well expressed; the translation of Isaiah is poor and paraphrastic, those of Job and the Minor Prophets are often unintelligible. In the case of Jeremiah the text represented by the Septuagint deviates so considerably from the Massoretic text as to assume the character of a separate recension.

There is no book of the Old Testament which may not be emended from the LXX. In the case of some, as Samuel, Kings, Jeremias, and such other books as seem to have been based upon a text more than usually corrupt, its importance cannot be exaggerated. This, of course, implies a most careful study of the LXX. For, after all, the Septuagint is only a translation, and the critic must learn to distinguish differences between the Greek and Hebrew, arising from the carelessness or inaccuracy of the translator, from those which point to an alternative reading in the Hebrew. This will be best done by observing closely the styles of the various authors of the Septuagint, and by comparing the Hebrew with the Greek in such passages as are pretty generally acknowledged to have come down to us without alteration, so as to learn the way in which the several translators dealt with the text. When it has been thus ascertained to what extent each author was given to paraphrase, how far his knowledge of Hebrew is to be trusted, whether he is usually accurate and the like, then it will be safe to bring the light of the Greek version to bear upon the Hebrew.

All this implies that the Septuagint we possess is the Original Septuagint. Alas! it is only too certain that it is nothing of the kind. Time has wrought many changes in it. Even as early as the days of Origen it had become gravely disfigured by corruption; and, indeed, his heroic attempt to emend it only left it worse than it was before. For Origen acted on a fundamentally wrong principle in his revision of the text, selecting such copies and readings as approximated most closely to the Hebrew,* and, what is still more serious, he supplied from Theodotion such passages as were present in the Hebrew and absent from the Greek. It is true he marked

* Where a text exists in two renderings, the rendering which differs from the Hebrew is most likely to be original. Cf. Driver, *l.c.* p. xlv.

these additions with an asterisk, but as the copies of Origen's text increased in number the tendency was for the asterisks to disappear.

Before full use can be made of the LXX. therefore as an instrument of criticism, it must be first purified from corruption itself. Lagarde says that, "until one has restored the primitive form of the Greek version, the Egyptian recension of the Bible cannot serve to criticise the Palestinian recension." These are the words of a great authority, but probably they are an exaggeration. Certainly few scholars would hold that no use can be made of the Septuagint for textual purposes till it has been restored to its original form. There are numberless passages where it has already helped to recover the true reading, but there are many more passages where it can be only used with confidence when more has been done to establish the true reading in the Greek. Lagarde has already accomplished a great work for the Septuagint, in editing (1883) an edition of Lucian's recension. Dr. Swete, of Cambridge, has also laboured with conspicuous success in the same field. His edition of the LXX., based on the Sinaitic, Vatican and Alexandrian Codices, will doubtless hold the field till the appearance of the new Cambridge edition now in preparation.*

3. The evidence which the Samaritan Pentateuch affords as to the Hebrew text also deserves attention. Unfortunately it concerns that part of the text only which stands least in need of correction. Still, it has the advantage of not being, like the Septuagint, a translation, but a direct witness, which has come down side by side with the ancestors of our Hebrew text. What adds further to its importance is the fact that, owing to the jealousy between the Jews and Samaritans, there is more probability that neither form of text was emended from the other. It must be remembered also that, since the Samaritan Pentateuch has been transmitted in the ancient Hebrew characters, it may not unnaturally be expected to be of assistance in ridding the received text of errors which are due to the introduction of the new style of writing. Especially important is its evidence where it supports the Greek against

* For the emendation of the Greek, besides the MSS. mentioned above, there are the recensions of Lucian, Hesychius (partially), patristic quotations, the old Latin (partially), &c. &c.

the Hebrew. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the result of close study has been largely to discount the value of the Samaritan Pentateuch for critical purposes; for, though it is found to differ from the Massoretic text in some 6000 places, most of the variants are trivial, and, moreover, as Father Richard Simon had pointed out* over two centuries ago, "the Samaritan text has been so disfigured by errors of transcription and by arbitrary treatment, that its critical importance is very much restricted."†

In earlier days the Samaritan Pentateuch was supposed to have originated at the time of the secession of the ten tribes under Jeroboam, or, at any rate, during the period following the fall of Samaria in B.C. 721. Professor Kuenen, and with him nearly all modern scholars, is of opinion that it was after the secession of the high priest Manasses in B.C. 432 that the Samaritan Pentateuch first existed apart from the ordinary text of the Hebrew Torah. It was known to, and used by, Origen and St. Jerome, but afterwards seems to have fallen out of sight, till, in 1616, it was again introduced by Petro della Valle into Europe. In 1632 it was printed for the first time in Paris, and since then has been generally known.

Such is the most material evidence available for the emendation of the Hebrew text. Besides that, however, a good deal of help may be obtained from the text itself.

(1) In the first place, there are many passages of the Old Testament which have come down to us in parallel sections; and, in such cases, one passage will obviously be of assistance in correcting the other. Such duplicates are, moreover, invaluable as a criterion of the extent to which corruption extends in the Hebrew text. Examples of such parallel passages are Ps. xviii. and 2 Sam. xx.; Ps. xiv. and Ps. liii.; and Pss. xl. and lxx. There are also instances of the same narrative being handed down in duplicate, and these are, of course, of equal importance. An example is furnished by the account of the invasion of Sennacherib and the illness of Ezechias contained in the second book of Kings (xviii. 13-xx. 19), which also occurs in the Prophecy of Isaiah (xxxvi.-xxxix.).

(2) The rhythm and metre of the poetical passages of the

* *L.c.* p. 881.

† *Buhl, l.c.* p. 89.

Old Testament are also a material assistance in the restoration of the text.* For a considerable proportion of the prophetic and hagiographical and some passages in the historical books are in poetry. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that, as in the case of the Latin and Greek classics, a knowledge of the principles of Hebrew poetry would be a valuable ally to the textual critic. In fact, it has been found, over and over again, that when the lines do not run evenly in poetical passages, the Septuagint is also at variance with the Hebrew, and that when the Septuagint reading is adopted, the balance of the Hebrew verse is restored. This is only natural. For any one can see that there is a regular measure and rhythm in the Hebrew verse and strophe. One has only to study Lamentations, or Job, or Proverbs, to find that out. What is now wanted is a deeper insight into the laws and principles of Hebrew poetry.

(3) Finally, there is the last resort of the textual critic—conjectural emendation. A dangerous weapon, to be used with the utmost caution. Still there are cases where it may be used with safety, and ought to be used. Such, for instance, are cases where the Massoretic text is in agreement with the Greek, and yet is clearly wrong. It is true, as Dr. Buhl remarks,† that “here we enter upon a region where only a few select spirits are at home, while just for those who are unfit it has a great fascination.” But, on the other hand, it is reassuring to know that many important emendations, which were conjecturally made at the time, have proved, when later research made it possible to check them, to be fully justified in fact.

These are the most important of the instruments with which the critic has to work in the restoration of the Hebrew text. To employ them with effect is a complex and difficult task. It requires not merely patience and assiduous labour, but, furthermore, a sound judgment, long experience, and a talent for critical work, which is the gift of nature rather than a product of art.

* A Catholic, Dr. Bickell, has laboured with considerable success in this field; cf. his “*Metres Biblicæ regulæ*” and “*Carmina V. T. Metricæ*.”

† *L.c.* p. 246.

IV.

Before drawing these remarks to a close, it will be well to call the attention of the reader to two facts well worth remembering. (1) First, it is not always easy in the Old Testament to determine where the work of the inspired writer ends and where the activity of the copyist begins. Professor Kuenen writes of the Pentateuch as follows: *

The redaction of the Pentateuch assumes the form of a continuous diaskene or diorthosis, and the redactor becomes a collective body, headed by the scribe who united the two works spoken of above† into a single whole, and also including the whole series of his more or less independent followers. It is only in exceptional cases, however, that the original redactor can be distinguished with certainty from those who continued his work.

This applied to the Pentateuch only. But it is more than likely that the other books of the Old Testament were also, almost without exception, subjected to a good deal of re-editing. This fact imposes a serious responsibility upon the critic, lest, in removing what he may conceive to be textual errors, he be really tampering with the Word of God.

(2) Secondly, the reader should not forget that in writing about the Hebrew text one has naturally to bring the gloomy side more prominently forward, and hence an exaggerated view of the defectiveness of the text may easily be conceived. We cannot do better here than reproduce the words on this subject with which Dr. Buhl concludes his work on the text: ‡

It must not be forgotten [he says], that a sketch like that upon which we have been engaged, in the very nature of things, must give prominence to the shady side of the text, whereas it has no occasion to refer to passages in which the text is in good order, and so, easily, a one-sided comfortless representation of the facts may be given. Only the reading of the Old Testament itself can dispel this illusion. This will show that textual criticism can, indeed, in many cases, contribute in an important manner to the greater clearness and beauty of the text, but does not alter the contents from those already known in any essential respect. And even though passages are found, of the soundness of which we cannot

* The "Hexateuch," p. 315.

† The professor alludes to the "Prophetical Narrative" (J. E.) and Deuteronomy (D.)—J. A. H.

‡ *L.c.* p. 252.

but entertain a doubt, it is yet, upon the whole, a matter of astonishment that so old a literary work as the Old Testament, written in a character so little practised, and so much exposed to serious risks, should still be so readable and so intelligible.

How many weary years rolled by, whilst the critics groped in the dark, before the spirit of order descended into the vast chaos of material available for the restoration of the New Testament text! Then only was such a work as that of Westcott and Hort within the bounds of possibility. The labour of recovering the primitive Hebrew text is no light one; it has not yet reached an advanced stage; there is still much to do even in the direction of preparing materials.

It is true one great step has been taken. The problem to be solved is now fully understood. Brilliant attempts have been made to emend individual books. Thus Wellhausen and Driver have dealt with the text of the books of Samuel, Cornill with Ezechiel, and, perhaps not so successfully, Workman with Jeremias. Lagarde, too, and Swete have done good work for the Septuagint; and, notwithstanding the adverse criticism of Ginsburg,* Baer is advancing our knowledge of the Massoretic text. But much remains to be done. More perfect editions of the Septuagint and the "received text" may be confidently looked for in the future. Further light is required upon the Jewish Targums. Above all, a clearer light is necessary to guide the critic in his choice between the readings of the traditional text and the Greek version.

Some fifteen years ago, in 1884, the revisers were of opinion that "the state of knowledge is not at present such as to justify any attempt at an entire reconstruction of the text, on the authority of the versions." The same is true to-day. Many emendations of the text have been suggested. Many are, doubtless, true; many more are very dubious. The tendency in these days is to rush things, to settle everything out of hand. But, in the case of the Hebrew text, an unbiased judgment will have little hesitation in deciding that the time has not yet arrived, probably will not come in our day, when an edition, with any pretension to finality, will issue from the press.

J. A. HOWLETT.

* "Introduction to the Hebrew Bible."

ART. VIII.—THE MAZARINUS MANUSCRIPT
AND THE PRIMEVAL BIOGRAPHY OF
ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

“**S**AINTE FRANÇOIS n'est ni assez aimé ni assez connu.” What challenges attention in this sentence is not so much the language itself, however pertinent it may be, but the occasion on which it originated. The words as they stand emanate from a Protestant writer of European fame, and are to be read in the dedication of one of his latest and most brilliant additions to Franciscan literature.* Let it be said without further delay that M. Paul Sabatier is in all truth one who, through the medium of singular abilities, is earnestly endeavouring to extend the knowledge of everything concerning that ideal man of the thirteenth century—St. Francis of Assisi—in the hope that love may grow commensurately with the more explicit recognition of his life as a whole.

Yet how little did the poor and humble Francis foresee that in after ages the first scholars of the land would search out with infinite pains every minute detail relating to him and his movements, or that his life was one day destined to become as a loadstone attracting the attention of the *literati*.

It will not be unreasonable to begin with a brief reference to another work by M. Sabatier: “La Vie de St. François d'Assise,” as a groundwork to the present one, the more so because the inquiries instituted during the progress of that biography were instrumental in stimulating further research, which has ultimately resulted in the “*Legenda Antiquissima*.”

As will be remembered, the appearance of a life of the seraphic Father by this writer created an indescribable effect, the explanation of which was not far to seek. He had abandoned the conventional commonplaces and had set himself the task of mastering other all but neglected sources of

* “*Speculum Perfectionis seu S. Francisci Assisiensis Legenda Antiquissima*.” Auctore Fratre Leone. Nunc primum edidit Paul Sabatier. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 1898. Pp. 590.

information. Here may be mentioned a remarkable synchronism that occurred at the time. Another French author, M. L'Abbé Le Monnier, was also engaged in studying these identical documents, and, as a consequence, was learning to avail himself of their material, though not to the same extent; with what distinguished success those who are familiar with his admirable history of the patriarch of the poor will testify.

But alas! that the beauty of M. Sabatier's work or art should have been marred by the presence of defects and errors that could not be overlooked, of flaws that were fatal to it from our point of view. More than one of the statements he advanced, and several of the opinions he advocated were so biased, so hostile, so contrary to all our most treasured traditions, that his book was at once denounced and it fell under the ecclesiastical ban. Now, however, it is evident that time and further investigation have wrought a change in many of these views, and therefore it is with a genuine feeling of satisfaction that I can speak of his conversion concerning the Portiuncula Indulgence, on which subject he has unreservedly retracted his adverse criticism and has rewritten the chapter dealing with it. Again in his appreciation of the "*Speculum Perfectionis*" he has considerably modified his estimation of the Stigmata. Both of which alterations encourage us in the belief that a future edition will be so completely transformed as to render its place in the *Index expurgatorius* anomalous.

In the present volume there is, comparatively speaking, less to complain of in this respect, as he, usually, maintains the attitude of the impartial editor, who keeps in check his own particular bias.

Now with reference to the Franciscan founder, it is a matter of common knowledge that his life was written in the early days by different members of his order. Thus, on February 25, 1229, Br. Thomas Celano presented to Pope Gregory IX. a copy of the legend composed at the express command of his Holiness, and eighteen years later he wrote another legend in three parts. In 1246 the "*Legenda Trium Sociorum*"—viz., of Brothers Leo, Angelo and Rufino, appeared, and in 1263 St. Bonaventure, then Minister-General, gave out his own
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celebrated legend, during the composition of which occurred that friendly visit of St. Thomas Aquinas, when, on finding the seraphic doctor wrapt in ecstasy, he returned to his brethren, saying: "Sinamus Sanctum quia laborat pro Sancto." In the fourteenth century we come across the "*Chronica Tribulationum*," by Angelo Clareno about 1330, to be followed in 1385-1399 by the "*Fioretti di S. Francesco*," and at an unknown date by Bartholomew of Pisa's "*Liber conformitatum Jesu Christi Domini Nostri ac serap. patris Francisci*," and "*Vitam Domini nostri Jesu Christi*," &c.

When St. Bonaventure's legend appeared, the General Chapter of the Order was being held at Paris, and a capitular decree was issued proclaiming St. Bonaventure's legend to be the official one, and proscribing all other histories of St. Francis. The mystery surrounding the prohibitive portion of this precept continues to be as impenetrable as ever, and even M. Sabatier's clever surmise must be dismissed as inconclusive.

There was, however, a passage in it to this effect: "*Et ubi (legendæ) inveniri possunt extra ordinem ipsas,* fratres studeant amovere*," but some of these legends, being beyond the reach of the brethren, survived. Now in examining these relics, M. Sabatier formed the opinion that an anterior Life to that of Br. Thomas Celano's had been written, still for years he deferred to the common sentiment regarding them. He, nevertheless, pursued his studies unremittingly, especially in regard to the Mazarinus MS. 1743 (1459), which had been contemptuously rejected by F. Papini, the Conventual, and F. Suyskene, S.J., and at last, he tells us, his doubts were set at rest, and he was confirmed in his view. A graphic description of this MS. is to be found on page 164. What the arguments are on which he relies will be considered further on. In the meantime it will be asked, What new data did this discovery bring to light? The editor answers: That not only is the "*Speculum Perfectionis*" of Fra Leone the earliest biography of St. Francis extant, but it is furthermore the narrative in which the lineaments of the *Poverello* are traced with a verve,

* In the quotation of this passage, which is taken from Rinaldi's "*Seraphici Viri S. Francisci vitæ duæ*, Rome," 1806, *ipsas* is printed, which is unmistakably an *erratum*. I regret to say that here in Cairo I have not the text of the general chapter at hand.

an originality and a poetry which is absent from most, if not all, of the other legends. Fra Leone "in thoughts that breathe and words that burn," sheds a wondrous light upon a life in which he may be said to have participated. Therefore, concludes M. Sabatier, he who was the secretary and friend, the confessor and nurse, can speak with an authority which is unimpeachable, and thus it is, thanks to his position, that he could understand better than others the inner life of his master. Hence also the several characteristics of the "*Speculum*" stand out in such strong relief that he that runs may read. M. Sabatier, with that felicity of imagery which seems instinctive, asserts that the pages of the "*Legenda Antiquissima*" resemble those letters one writes from the death-chamber, when the heart is stricken with a great grief, in which one recalls for the benefit of the absent every minute detail, the words and gestures of the departed one. In Fra Leone's biography the sighs and laments of Francis become well-nigh audible, and it "adds a precious seeing to the eye," so that we gaze, as it were, on the physical man at the very time we are being indued with the faculty of penetrating into the heart of the spiritual one.

No doubt in the "*Speculum*" one is impressed with the mass of indications which tend Franciswards, and the editor naturally improves the occasion by turning this evidence to advantage. It is well-known that mediæval hagiology and that of later centuries was often written in superlatives, particulars were not unfrequently omitted as being unnecessary, and virtues were generalised. Lives of the saints, like homelies, were written *de communi*. The N. was prepared for the insertion of any saint's name. But with the "*Speculum*" it is quite otherwise; such is the homogeneity of the idiosyncrasies given, that were the name of our saint obliterated, there could be no mistaking his identity.

Now apart from all verdict on M. Sabatier's right to the title of first editor of the "*Speculum*," do not the aforesaid merits of the work emphasise the opportuneness of its present publication? We are assisting at a phase in sacred biographical history in which many spiritual writers have admitted their dissatisfaction with the methods pursued in other days, and are betaking themselves to simpler and more natural lines.

Witness the "Psychology of the Saints," by H. Joly, and other kindred works edited by F. Tyrrel, S J. Among these works, therefore, the "Speculum Perfectionis" seems marked out for a foremost place.

To return to our subject, the last qualification spoken of becomes more prominent where there is question of localities, the account of these latter being definite to a degree. The places where the events related occurred are made almost visible; thus in one place it is Saint Fabian's *opposite* Rieti, in another it is Monte Casale *above* Borgo San Sepolcro; here it is the almshouse belonging to the Crucigeri, which is *halfway* between Portiuncula and Assisi, there it is Br. Giles, who quits St. George's to look for Francis, at that moment living *near* the leper-house, but when he (Br. Giles) reaches the *cross-road*, perplexity sets in, &c. In speaking of the topographical features of this work, I may be allowed to mention that recently M. Sabatier has passed through the press a picturesque plan of Assisi as it stood not long after the death of its most illustrious inhabitant. I have been favoured with a copy of it, and in expressing my gratitude I hope that it will grace a future edition of the "Legenda."

Next we contemplate Francis and his disciples, not so much in their quality of missionaries as of workers of mercy—in other words, as the lepers' attendants, with whom the expropriation of everything temporal and its distribution to the poor is a duty, but a negative one at best, whilst the care of the lepers assumes the force of a positive obligation. When at Assisi it is in a deserted shed of the leper-house on Rivo Torto where they lodge; if they go abroad on missionary work intent, they journey from leper-house to leper-house, labouring for the conversion of the people by word and example.

Further on, the intense moral and physical sufferings Francis endured are sympathetically portrayed, and the picture of the *tadium vitæ* he was subject to goes to our very heart.

In another place Francis, the poet, rivets our attention, and we assist in spirit at the composition of the famous *Cantico del Sole*, its circumstances being vividly set before us. Thus we observe the organic unity of the whole work in which, to the external and precise indications of places, words, and actions,

there corresponds an interior harmony, for a soul utterly unlike any other is laid bare before us.

But now we come to the crucial question : Is the work, as edited by M. Sabatier, all it lays claim to? Some critics say it is, among whom are M. L'Abbé Bouisson, in the *Revue du Midi*; Felix Vernet, in *L'Université Catholique*; Guistino L. Ferri, in the *Fanfulla della Domenica*, &c. But others, in even greater number, hold that the editor has by no means proved his case. They freely recognise the wealth of erudition and the rare critical powers of M. Sabatier, but they cannot subscribe to his conclusions; nay, they hold that he has allowed himself to be misled in the principal theories he propounds. Therefore they protest against this work being called the first legend of St. Francis written in 1227, for the simple reason that the only authority put forward is a single MSS. of the fifteenth century (1459), which is faulty and defective, and, therefore, most untrustworthy, especially as its rubric says it was compiled from other legends. Then they deny that in its chief parts it is the work of Fra Leone, and, finally, they assert that it is part of the "*Speculum Perfectionis Vitæ S. Francisci*," already five times edited. Such, among others, are the grave objections brought against it by Canon Fallori in two articles written in the "*Miscellanea Franciscana*," vol. vi. parts 1 and 2 (Foligno)—"L'Abbé Le Monnier," *L'Univers*, June 29, 1898—Professor Pometti, "*Il Bollettino della Regia Deputazione de storia patria pel l'Umbria*," vol. iv. p. 129 *seq.*; P. Mandonet O. Praed, *Revue Thomiste*, 1898, p. 250 *seq.*

In justice to the eminent author, it is only fair to hear his mind on these objections. Hence I transcribe the rubric which is such a stumbling-block to many :

Incipit Speculum Perfectionis status fratris Minoris scilicet beati Francisci. *Istud opus compilatum est per modum legendæ ex quibusdam antiquis quæ in diversis locis scripserunt et scribi fecerunt socii beati Francisci.*

(The italics are mine.) In order to account for this untoward title, M. Sabatier essays, first of all, several preliminary hypotheses. It may refer, for instance, not to the "*Speculum Perfectionis*," but to the collection of Franciscan writings with which it is conjoined; such are the Fioretti, certain fragments

of S. Bonaventure, along with other edifying monastic paragraphs, the chronicles of the Order, a portion of the works of St. Francis, &c. Or again, remembering the decree of the General Chapter which proscribed all other legends save and except that of the Seraphic Doctor, he suggests that, perhaps, some religious acquainted with the priceless value of Fra Leone's work, in defiance of the regulation above mentioned, preserved it, but concealed its identity in this way, the better to evade the inquisitorial eye of superiors.

Then he proceeds to recapitulate the proofs which convinced him of its authenticity—viz., the unity of style, characterised by a certain *feror spiritus*, that one looks for in vain in other legends; the instinctive repetition of some ideas which are interspersed throughout many of its chapters. Such, for example, is the thought that was ever present with Francis of being the model of his brethren, a thought simple enough in itself, but complicated in his case, because it was entwined with the anguish of spirit he experienced and the reproaches he apostrophised himself with. One instance will suffice. In chap. vi. p. 34 he said to his companion :

Me oportet (*sic*) esse formam et exemplum omnium fratrum, et ideo licet corpori meo sit necesse habere tunicam repetitam, tamen me considerare oportet alios fratres meos, quibus id idem necesse est, et ipsi fratres forsitan non habent nec habere possunt. Unde me oportet considerare eos, ut ego patiar easdem necessitates quas et ipsi patiuntur ut hoc videntes in me, magna patientia valeant sustinere.

And, finally, he lays most stress on the famous, *Nos qui cum eo fuimus*, or its counterpart, *Nemo novit nisi qui accepit*, which, like the burthen of a song, bursts forth on almost every page, but is wanting in every other legend.

It will be seen that the evidence is abundant, but does it invalidate the objections raised? I think not.

To some, this conclusion of mine, seen in the favourable light of the review, will appear *bizarre* and arbitrary. Still, it is in perfect accord with what has gone before. I am of the number of those who believe it to form part of the "*Speculum Perfectionis*" already published, but I have not words enough to express my admiration for the enchantment with which M. Sabatier surrounds it. Doubtless he foresaw this objection, for (p. 22) he writes :

Les personnes très au courant des choses franciscaines seront peut-être étonnés, lorsqu'elles commenceront à feuilleter cette légende d'y trouver tant de récits déjà aperçus ailleurs mais malgré cela, &c.

Here I may be permitted to call attention to the thinly-disguised sarcasm of the editor (p. 56) when he alludes to the inconsiderable space allotted to prophecies in the chapter, "*De Spiritu Prophetiæ*." For the moment he has lost sight of the restricted nature of the work he has edited, which he himself commented on (p. 50), saying it scarcely deserves the name of legend, for nowhere is the intention to relate the whole life of Francis visible.

It is also strange to find in a work of such marvellous accuracy one of the Blessed of our Order spoken as *Saint* Francis Venimbene de Fabriano.

But there is a more winsome feature which I must not forget. With that completeness which bespeaks the master-hand, a most interesting chapter is devoted to the biographer of the *Guillare di Deo*, to the Boswell, if it may be said without disrespect, of the thirteenth century according to M. Sabatier. Francis was the *Poverello*, the poor little one; and who has not heard of *Fra Pecorello*, the little sheep of Francis? Who is not familiar with that artless incident, which better than aught else tells of the intimacy existing between master and disciples—the conversation, viz.: "What is perfect joy?—an incident that is rightly regarded as the summary and flower of St. Francis's mission, and which Aubrey de Vere has so elegantly done into English. M. Sabatier enables us to understand how *Fra Leone*, by his gentle, unassuming nature, had crept into the affections of and endeared himself to his father in God. With an erudition beyond all praise, he enlarges upon the Blessing Francis dictated to this brother, a Blessing which has gone forth to the ends of the earth, and which I quote: "*Benedicat tibi Dominus et custodiat te, ostendat faciem suam tibi et misereatur tui, convertat vultum suum ad te et det tibi pacem.*" Then Francis, yielding as it were to a sudden inspiration, took the pen, and with his own hand added in boyish characters, "*Dominus benedicat f. Leo, te,*" and traced at the foot of the writing a cross in the form of the Greek Tau, bequeathing thereby to his well-loved son his autograph as a priceless gift.

Here, with a grateful heart, I take leave of this admirable production, and I may be allowed to express the earnest hope that even greater success will attend his coming editions of the "Actus Sancti Francisci et Sociorum ejus" and "I Fioretti di San Francesco."*

F. ANDREW, O.F.M.

* Since the above was written the first of these works has been edited, and the hopes entertained are being realised.

ART. IX.—MEDIÆVAL GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

English Schools at the Reformation, 1546-48. By ARTHUR F. LEACH, M.A., F.S.A. Westminster: Constable. 1896.

Yorkshire Chantry Surveys. Edited by WILLIAM PAGE. Two vols. Durham: Andrews. Surtees Society. 1894.

The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages. By HASTINGS RASHDALL, M.A. Two vols. Clarendon Press. 1895.

WITH education so much in the air that the respective merits of rival educational systems are topics of daily talk, and even centres round which sways the strife of political parties; with the Government of the day actually entering upon a course of legislation dealing with secondary teaching, it seems not unfitting to ascend the stream of time and see what was done in the matter of secondary education by our forefathers. It is a fixed notion in many minds that the Church, afraid of progress, ever set her face hard as a flint-stone against the enlightenment of the people, but that happily her opposition was beaten down by the craving for knowledge and the spirit of liberty aroused in some mysterious way by certain new principles sown at the Reformation. The idea is as widely entertained as it is complacently cherished that not only were the long-worn fetters burst by the break with Rome, but that the freedom thus so tardily gained immediately asserted itself in the foundation of schools in various parts of the country. These schools are still in existence, and their name of Edward VI.'s Grammar Schools seems to give point and proof to the notion that the boy king, the first monarch of the Reformed Faith, was the great promoter of secondary education.

The tale seems to hang nicely together, and its plausibility is not diminished by the material illustrations to which it can point in confirmation of what it has to say. As long as people were not too curious and did not trouble to inspect too

closely what they were so ready to believe, it held together and certainly served its purpose well. But it has not been able to stand the searching scrutiny of modern research, which quickly discovered it to be only another rod in that huge bundle of misrepresentation and distortion of historical fact which Cardinal Newman called the "Protestant Tradition," and which is now being broken, stick by stick, by the labours of historical scholars. Already, old stains of shameless obloquy have been removed, and many a long-cherished idol has been thrown down. Father Gasquet has cleared the blackened character of the monks. Froude's thick whitewash of Henry VIII. has been rubbed off by the rough evidence of that monarch's own State papers. It was once a bold thing for Newman to "curse and swear" at the Reformation, but now Dr. Jessopp, a clergyman of the Established Church, can without challenge denounce the Reformation as "the great pillage of the people" by "the ring of miscreants who robbed the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII.," and "the ring of the robbers who robbed the poor and helpless in the reign of Edward VI., which was ten times worse than the first." *

The man in the street, however, still looks up to Edward VI. as the founder of grammar schools. Nor can we blame him. Besides the testimony of the names borne by many existing foundations, there is also the testimony of a whole concert of historians to bear out the deception. The story may have originated in Strype's list of twenty-two schools, the foundation of which he attributes to the poor little king, and it has certainly not lost anything in the hands of later writers, especially certain more recent authors who have written in defence of the Church of England. Canon Perry and Canon Dixon have repeated the old cry, one taking Strype's list for granted, and the other enlarging the matter in the general statement that "not less than in hospitals, in schools the name of Edward VI. is famous for the great foundations that he planted in the nation; in the number of them he exceeded any of his predecessors." † A faint echo of the old fable is also

* *Nineteenth Century*, March 1893.

† "History of the Church of England," iii. p. 458.

heard in Canon Ornsby's history of the diocese of York, a work conspicuous for its general fairness and lucidity. "The one good result," he writes, "of the dissolution of these various foundations [the chantries, hospitals, guilds, &c.] was the foundation of grammar schools in different places." *

But it is not alone in works by writers on Church defence that Edward VI. is glorified as the founder of grammar schools. Even so generally careful and sagacious a scholar as Green has been deceived in the matter. Describing the state of learning in the country during the reign of Edward VI., he says :

All teaching of divinity ceased at the Universities; the students indeed had fallen off in numbers, the libraries were in part scattered or burnt, the intellectual impulse of the New Learning had died away. One noble measure indeed, the foundation of eighteen grammar schools, was destined to throw a lustre over the name of Edward, but it had no time to bear fruit in his reign.†

A little earlier on in the same work, speaking of Colet's foundation of St. Paul's School, he writes :

The example of Colet was followed by a crowd of imitators. More grammar schools, it has been said, were founded in the latter years of Henry than in the three centuries before. The impulse grew happily stronger as the direct influence of the New Learning passed away. The grammar schools of Edward VI. and of Elizabeth, in a word the system of middle class education which by the close of the century had changed the very face of England, were the direct results of Colet's foundation of St. Paul's.‡

In a still more recent work which professed to give the very latest results of modern scholarship, "Social England," under the editorship of Dr. Traill, Mr. J. Bass Mullinger is allowed to flounder in the following fashion, raising the number of schools attributed by Strype to Edward VI. : "Upwards of thirty free grammar schools founded at this time have permanently associated the reign of Edward VI. with popular education." § This number is still far behind the fifty-one

* "York," p. 312.

† "Short History of the English People," pp. 352-53.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 305.

§ "Social England," vol. iii. p. 229.

schools which were set down to the credit of Edward by the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1864-66.

With such a cloud of witnesses behind it the common opinion concerning Edward VI.'s connection with the grammar school movement is easily understood, and may as easily be excused. But it can be held no longer, for it has in the last few years been shown to have no foundation of genuine historical evidence to support it. The real state of the case is admirably and succinctly stated by the Rev. Hastings Rashdall in a chapter on grammar schools contributed by him to a history of Harrow School:

The fact is that the whole theory about the dearth of grammar schools and other schools still more elementary is a mere delusion. The immense prestige that Edward VI. has acquired as a patron of education is simply due to the fact that he refounded out of confiscated Church property some small percentage of schools which he and his rapacious father had destroyed. The probability is that England was far better provided with grammar schools before the Reformation than it has ever been since.*

This is a somewhat startling statement, but it has been proved to its last letter by a study of the records which have come down to us from the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and from which, defective as they are, it is abundantly clear that grammar schools are amongst the most ancient foundations in the kingdom, and that at least 200 must have been in existence before Edward came to the throne. Mr. Leach, to whose researches on this question all other writers derive most of their information and whose admirable book has scarcely met with the attention it deserves, raises the number by the addition of another hundred. Making allowances for the gaps in the evidence preserved, and with the help of information laboriously gleaned from other sources, he declares that

these 200 schools do not represent anything like all the grammar schools which existed in or shortly before the reign of Edward VI. Three hundred is a moderate estimate in the year 1535 when the floods of the great revolt, which is called the Reformation, were let loose.

And this number, it must be remembered, is exclusive of

* "Harrow School," chap. ii. p. 12.

elementary schools, song schools, scholarships, and university exhibitions.*

In this judgment Mr. Page, the editor for the Surtees Society of two valuable volumes of documents on Yorkshire Chantryes, fully concurs. He thus states the result of his researches :

It does not seem that any grammar school was founded by Edward VI. at any town in Yorkshire where one had not previously existed.†

If inquiry be made it will be found that very few, if any, of the so-called King Edward VI.'s grammar schools had their origin in the reign of that monarch. Up to the time of the Reformation nearly all education was in the hands of the Church, and when chantries were dissolved practically the whole of the secondary education of the country would have been swept away had not some provision for the instruction of the middle and lower classes been made by continuing under new ordinances some of the educational endowments which pious founders had previously provided.‡

What a reputation has here been burst, and what a bubble it was ! Instead of being the great promoter of a new educational movement and a founder of schools, Edward VI. turns out to have been the ruthless despoiler and destroyer of existing foundations. Out of the plunder he allowed a part to be employed for its old purpose, but where education was concerned he had not even the easy virtue of being generous with other people's money. In a very few cases the income was augmented, but most of the old schools, Mr. Leach tells us, were either "swept away, or if not swept away, plundered and damaged." §

This it will be seen is a serious indictment, and the repetition of it imposes upon us, in duty to those who have acquiesced in or accepted the Edwardian legend, a call to explain the way in which the schools we have mentioned came into existence, their objects and teaching, and finally the method of their destruction. To do this with anything like the fulness which the importance of the subject deserves would take more space than could be here placed at our disposal, but a brief sketch can be given which, bald though it may be, will not at any rate omit any necessary point.

* "English Schools at the Reformation," p. 6.

† "Yorkshire Chantryes," vol. i. p. xv.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. xi.

§ "English Schools at the Reformation," p. 6.

I.

As there were brave men before Agamemnon, so, too, were there grammar schools before Edward VI. Indeed, the movement for the promotion of education dates back to the earliest ages of the Church, and it is to Catholic Churchmen, and not to the Reformation's youthful prodigy, that we must look for the real founders of our ancient secondary schools.

The almost total destruction of the classic culture of Greece and Rome during the period in which Europe was overrun by barbarian hordes is an old and familiar story. What survived of the old Roman learning into mediæval Europe owed its existence to its association with Christianity. This is abundantly evident, for in those days of storm and stress it was only among Churchmen that an educational idea was entertained. They were the only class that desired even the rudiments of knowledge. The improvement of education formed a prominent object of every zealous ecclesiastic from the days of Gregory the Great to the time when the darkness passed away under the influence of the ecclesiastical revival of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Times of bloodshed and revolution filled the intervening period, but the lamp of learning was kept alight in the quiet homes where the sons of St. Benedict toiled and prayed and educated the children entrusted to their care. Their convents were at once, as Cardinal Newman has pointed out, infant schools, grammar schools, and seminaries, and so it came about that

Benedictine monasticism created almost the only homes of learning and education, and constituted by far the most powerful civilising agency in Europe, till it was superseded as an educational instrument by the growth of the universities.*

There was thus, from the beginning, an intimate connection between the Church and the school which persisted in spite of every difficulty, and which, as soon as the hardness of the times relaxed, immediately flowered into practical activity. Here in England, especially, that connection and its accompanying activity asserted itself from the very beginning of Christian times. There can now be little doubt that a school must have

* "Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages," vol. i. p. 27.

been started at Canterbury very soon after the landing of St. Augustine. St. Bede, in describing the conversion of East Anglia, tells us how King Sigebert in 631,

wishing to imitate those things which he had seen well done in Gaul, founded a school in which boys should be taught grammar, Bishop Felix, whom he had received from Kent, helping him and giving him ushers and masters after the fashion of the Kentish folk.*

Kent means, of course, Canterbury, and 631 A.D. was only thirty-four years after the coming of St. Augustine, yet an educational tradition and reputation had been evidently established. Then came Archbishop Theodore, the great organiser and promoter of learning, to whose influence so much is due. Leaving Kent for the more turbulent north, we can watch that influence taking form in St. Benet Biscop's foundations at Wearmouth and Jarrow, whither St. Bede came at the age of seven, and afterwards at York in the great school established in 732 by Archbishop Egbert, which so quickly won international fame.

It was [says Canon Raine] an educational effort, as Bede foresaw, superior to any that could be attempted at Jarrow. It was not in connection with a monastery, and was therefore less restricted in its aims, and had the prestige of being under the immediate charge of the Archbishop, who was own brother to the King of Northumbria. . . . Two Archbishops, Egbert and Aelbert, were at its head, and on Aelbert's decease Alcuin became the chief tutor.†

Alcuin was tempted away to France by Charlemagne in 782 to infuse new life into the Palace school, which was probably a growth out of the Chapel Royal and the Merovingian custom of bringing up youths in the households of the chiefs.

Great already as a conqueror, Charlemagne wished to adorn his greatness in war by the cultivation of the arts of peace. His anxiety to build up his empire on the solid foundation of learning is seen in the letter he wrote to Lull, Archbishop of Mayence, in his engagement of Alcuin, the first scholar of his time, and in the strenuous support he extended to him. Capitularies were issued in 787 and 789, not to one bishop but to all the bishops and abbots in his dominions, enjoining them everywhere to establish schools in connection with their cathedrals and

* "Bede," bk. iii. chap. xviii.

† "Yrk," pp. 172-3.

monasteries after the pattern of that connected with the Palace.* Thus was the old connection with education which had been maintained by the Church stereotyped by the legislation of Charlemagne. The greater monasteries at least had two schools, one for their own *oblati* and one for lay scholars, and for a long time they supplied the cathedral schools with teachers. Unfortunately, however, this revival of intellectual life was seriously checked and thrown back for two centuries by the break-up of the Frankish empire and the Danish and Saracen invasions.

With the return of more tranquil times, the matter of education was again taken up in serious earnest under Pope Alexander III. in the Third Council of Lateran. A decree was passed, providing for the assignment, in every cathedral church, of a competent benefice to the master who taught freely the clerics of the Church and the poor scholars resorting thereto. Ancient endowments for that end were to be restored to their original purpose, and the multiplication of teachers was to be encouraged by the free and unprejudiced granting of the license to teach, under pain of the loss of benefice.† The subject was again taken up in 1215, the year of our Great Charter, when Innocent III. and the Fathers of the Fourth Council of Lateran not only reiterated and confirmed the statute of their predecessors, which seems to have been in many places disregarded, but extended its application to every parish church where it was possible to carry it out.‡ The schools thus established were supported by endowments, by the municipality, or by the monastery, whilst in others the teaching was doubtless given by the poor parish priest, who was required by the Canon Law to be able to teach boys to read as well as to sing their Psalter.§

By this time the University movement had gathered force, and scholars were flocking to Bologna, Paris, and Oxford to hear the lectures of masters whose fame had gone abroad over Christendom. The rise of the Universities encouraged the institutions of schools; for as people must walk before they can run, so Latin had to be learnt before lectures in Latin could be heard with profit. Early in the twelfth century an anonymous

* "Alcuin et Charlemagne," par F. Monnier, pp. 72-73.

† "Mansi," vol. xxii. p. 227. ‡ *Ibid.* vol. xxii. p. 999.

§ "Decret. Greg. IX." lib. iii. tit. i.

author declares that "throughout Gaul, Germany, Normandy, and England, not only in towns and villages but even in hamlets (*villulis*) there are to be found most expert schoolmasters as numerous as the curators and officials of the royal revenues." Later in the same century, Fitzstephen says there were three principal schools in London, besides those opened by private persons, whilst in the following century we find at one time no less than forty-two schoolmasters and twenty-one mistresses licensed by the Chancellor of the Cathedral.*

In a few stray facts such as these we see the initiative taken by the Church in the work of education and the response it aroused. We need have no fear, therefore, in concluding with Mr. Rashdall:

It may be stated with some confidence that, at least in the later middle age, the smallest towns and even the larger villages possessed schools where a boy might learn to read and to acquire the first rudiments of ecclesiastical Latin, while, except in very remote and thinly populated regions, he would never have to go far to find a regular grammar school. That the means of education in reading, writing, and the elements of Latin were far more widely diffused than has sometimes been supposed is coming to be generally recognised by students of mediæval life.†

II.

What has here been said of Christendom in general in regard to provision for education is especially true of mediæval England. We have not, indeed, a contemporary Parliamentary Blue-book in proof of this assertion, but we have a tolerable substitute in the Reports of the Commissions of Inquiry instituted by Henry VIII. and Edward VI., when those monarchs were itching to finger the possessions of the guilds, hospitals, and chantries. These Reports have been in part published during the last few years, and they supply us with evidence that cannot be gainsaid of the ample educational provision made by our Catholic forefathers in the shape of schools of various grades, ranging from the splendid institutions still standing at Eton and Winchester to such a humble arrangement as that made at Launceston, where an old man was paid two marks a year by the mayor for

* "Harrow School," chap. ii.

† "Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages," vol. ii. p. 602.

teaching children the alphabet. In accordance with the subjects taught, these schools may be divided into grammar schools, song schools, and schools for reading and writing. Another mode of classification, from the kind of institution to which they were attached, gives us a clear idea of the working of private initiative in those days, and so deserves notice at our hands. Besides being established in connection with cathedrals and monasteries, schools were also attached to collegiate churches or colleges, hospitals, guilds, and chantries, besides those which were independent institutions. A brief word on each is here necessary.

(i.) *The Cathedral schools* were many of them, like those of Canterbury and York, almost as old as the churches themselves. Lincoln had its school from the eleventh century, and the statutes of Wells show that one was maintained there from the twelfth century.

(ii.) It has been the fashion to discount the number of schools kept by *monasteries*, but from the educational obligations placed upon the monasteries by Canon Law, it would appear that Professor Thorold Rogers is not far wide of the truth when he says:

I am convinced that they [grammar schools] were attached to every monastery, and that the extraordinary number of foundation schools established just after the Reformation was not a new zeal for learning, but a fresh and very inadequate supply of that which had been so suddenly and disastrously extinguished.*

The monastic schools, of course, were reformed out of existence with the dissolution of the monasteries.

(iii.) *Collegiate schools* were those maintained by collegiate churches or colleges of secular canons or priests who lived in common, as in Henry VI.'s foundation at Eton. Some of these colleges, like those at Beverley, Chester, and Southwell, were in existence before Harold fell at Senlac, and one of the first duties of the clergy on the foundation was to maintain a grammar school open to lay scholars as well as clerics. Several of the colleges fell with the monasteries, and so find no mention in the records of the above-mentioned Commissions of Inquiry. From the middle of the thirteenth century more and more of these institutions were established.

* "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," i. p. 165.

(iv.) Next in antiquity and importance come the schools founded in connection with *Hospitals* or almshouses for the poor and infirm. The hospital of St. Cross at Winchester, which dated back to 1132, had to feed thirteen poor scholars. St. Anthony's Hospital, Threadneedle Street, had a school which was attended by Dean Colet and Sir Thomas More. As these institutions were provided with at least one chaplain to pray for the souls of the founders, they were conveniently brought under the description of "superstitious uses" and their revenues swept into the royal treasury. In some cases, though the school was not mentioned in the foundation deed, it was provided for in the statutes. An example of this is seen in Margaret Lady Hungerford's Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Heytesbury, in Wiltshire, where the chaplain, on all days when not occupied in assisting at the parish church, is enjoined to

do his diligent labour to teach and inform all such children and other persons that shall come to the place . . . fro the beginning of learning until such season as they learn sufficient or competent of grammar; no school hire take of no person or persons or take [save of] such as their friends may spend £10 or above, or else that will give freely.*

(v.) *Guilds*, too, formed an ancient and fruitful source of schools. It would have been indeed strange had it been otherwise, for guilds were emphatically religious associations entered into for mutual assistance, spiritual and temporal, and for the performance of those Christian duties that supplied the sanction for every social bond. Out of thirty-three guilds mentioned in our records, no less than twenty-eight maintained schools, though the teaching of scholars found no place in the original foundation. The schools may have been due to the personal initiative of some energetic chaplain, or to a request on the part of some of the guildsmen, or it may be to some later benefaction earmarked for that purpose. The Trinity Guild at Wisbeach, in Cambridgeshire, kept four stipendiary priests, one of whom was to be "learned to preach . . . and also to keep a grammar school freely to teach and instruct children continually in godly and virtuous learning."†

(vi.) *Chantries* were the latest but certainly the largest class

* MS. copy in Bodleian made in 1613: "English Schools at the Reformation," p. 31.

† *Ibid.*, p. 42.

of institutions with which schools were connected. A chantry was an endowment left in connection with some special altar or chapel for a priest to pray for the soul of the founder, his relatives and all Christian souls. A chantry was often founded as a chapel of ease in places at a distance from the parish church for the convenience of the people of the district. Mention is made of a chantry at Ashton Keynes in Wiltshire, which existed before the Conquest, and a few were founded at York, Wells, Lincoln and other places in the twelfth century, but their establishment does not seem to have become a common practice till the first half of the fourteenth century. Before that period the foundation of monasteries, and afterwards of friaries, was the ordinary method of securing prayers for the departed. But monasteries and friaries were a luxury of the rich. With the growth of a well-to-do middle class the less costly foundations of chantries came into increasing vogue down to the days of the Reformation. When they first came to be utilised as endowments for grammar schools is somewhat hard to determine; sometimes a school was part of the original intention; in other cases it may have been adopted by the priest to eke out a slender living and occupy his vacant days, or to meet the pressing needs of his district. Bishop Langley of Durham ordained in 1414 that the two priests singing in the Galilee Chapel of Durham Cathedral, besides praying for himself and the king, should each keep a school—one of grammar and the other of song—"teaching gratis the poor who ask it humbly for the love of God, but charging the rest moderate fees, such as are usually paid in other grammar or song schools."

(vii.) *Independent* foundations, such as that established by Dean Colet in London, probably found precedents in the schools taught by priests who were paid for the purpose. In these independent schools it was not necessary for the master to be a priest. Where this was the case even the ingenuity of the Court officials failed to find a way to convict them of "superstitious uses," and so the schools slipped through the meshes of the Chantries Acts, and managed to retain their endowments.

III.

It will be evident from all this what a favourite form of active Christian charity was the making of provision for education, and it is therefore no surprise to find that the supply of schools was well abreast of the needs of the population. Indeed, according to Mr. Leach's computation, England was better supplied with grammar schools before the Reformation than it has ever been since. In the middle of the sixties, when the population was about 19,000,000, the Schools Inquiry Commission Report set down the secondary schools of all sorts as numbering 830. That would give one school for every 23,750, an average which compares very badly with that existing on the eve of the Reformation. Allowing the population to be represented by the liberal estimate of 2,500,000, for which, as we have seen, there were at least 300 schools, we get one school for every 8300 people: London had four schools for its 44,000 inhabitants; York had three for 13,500; Herefordshire had seventeen for 30,000; whilst Essex, for a population of about 11,000, had no less than sixteen grammar schools.

Nor were the educational opportunities thus afforded neglected by the people. Winchester and Eton had each seventy scholars, besides the oppidans or paying boarders, who within ten years after Wykeham's death numbered no less than a hundred. Such comparatively small places as Taunton, Skipton in Yorkshire, and King's Norton in Worcestershire, could reckon their 140 and 120 scholars apiece. Indeed, we may say generally, that wherever the records mention the numbers in attendance, those numbers are surprisingly large.

The course of studies followed in the grammar schools was not very widely different from that which was pursued in similar institutions down to a time within living memory. Its foundation was Latin; for a workable knowledge of that language was an absolute necessity in those days for the pursuit of further study, for attendance at the universities, for the learned professions, and, of course, for the Church. After the alphabet had been mastered a boy was set to learn the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Psalter, or at any rate the seven penitential psalms. He was also taught to sing the psalms as he learnt them, and this would doubtless help to fix

th- in his memory. The method of teaching seems to have been pretty much the same as that followed in elementary schools at the present day: words, phrases and sentences were sung after the master by the boys until the repetition had made them word perfect. Then there were writing lessons and summing to be done. The principal grammar studied was that of Donatus, the tutor of St. Jerome. The subject of grammar then included a good deal more than we generally understand by the word. It may be said to have stood for scholarship—an acquaintance with Latin literature derived from reading classical authors, and the power to speak as well as write the language. Among the authors studied were Æsop, Terence, Cicero, Sallust, Cæsar, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, the works of such Fathers as St. Jerome and St. Augustine, and of such Christian poets as Prudentius.

Some of the grammar school masters took a grammatical degree at the universities. They were honoured with an inception ceremony at which, however, in place of the book given to Masters of Arts, they were presented with a palmer and a birch. They had then straightway to proceed to the flogging of a boy "openly in the scolys," paying a groat to the Bedel who purveyed the boy, and another groat to the boy "for hys labour." It has long been the fashion to sneer at the narrow limits of a mediæval education, and especially at mediæval Latin. But the cheap scorn that comes of shallowness is repudiated by scholars who know that mental training does not depend on a bewildering multiplicity of subjects, and who have taken the trouble to study the writings of mediæval writers. Long ago Cardinal Newman had gently urged that though their style has

little claim to the purity of taste and of vocabulary which we call classical, it is good Latin both in structure and idiom. . . . Their merit in respect to language is of a different kind; it consists in their success in making the majestic and beautiful Latin tongue minister to scientific uses for which it was never intended.*

Monkish Latin is a byword; but, says Mr. Leach, who is anything but friendly to the monks, "the mediæval schoolmen sinned no more against pure Latinity than the modern scien-

* "Historical Sketches," vol. ii. "The Benedictine Schools," p. 470.

tific writer sins against English undefiled, if such there be."* To this may be added the valuable testimony of so fastidious a scholar as Mr. Rashdall, who writes :

The Latin which was written by the theologian or historian, the Latin of the secretary's letter or the episcopal ordinance, was not so bad as is commonly supposed by those who have heard it only abused. . . . Originally rigid, inflexible, poor in vocabulary and almost incapable of expressing a philosophical idea, it became in the hands of mediæval thinkers flexible, subtle, rich.†

Of the manner and spirit in which our ancient educational foundations were established a word must here be said. Education was then as now regarded in the Church as a religious work, and provision was made for it by private munificence from religious and charitable motives, such as gratitude for the benefits received during life and as a means of securing prayers for the soul's sake after death. Perhaps no better illustration of this could be taken than the case of Jesus College, Rotherham, founded in his native town by Thomas Rotherham, who was Chancellor of England during the reign of Edward IV., and was appointed Archbishop of York in 1480. After his consecration he took no further part in public affairs, but devoted himself entirely to the oversight of his diocese. Two years afterwards he laid the foundation of a college for a provost and two fellows and six poor boys who were to be trained there for the priesthood till the age of eighteen years. The provost was to preach the word of God in the parishes of Rotherham, Laxton and Ecclesfield, and other places in the diocese, whilst one of the fellows was to teach grammar, poetry and rhetoric, and the other music. In his will, made on August 6, 1489, the Archbishop added a third fellow freely to teach writing and arithmetic to sharp lads who showed an aptitude for business, thus extending the benefits of his foundation.

The will itself, which Canon Raine describes as "probably the most noble and striking will of a mediæval bishop in existence," is an eloquent expression of the deep spirit of piety of the Archbishop, and will give us a better appreciation of the spirit of those times than a whole volume of mere description.

* "English Schools at the Reformation," p. 107.

† "Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages," vol. ii. p. 596.

After commending his soul to his Creator and Redeemer and begging the intercession of Our Lady and a whole litany of saints, and giving directions for the burial of his body in the marble tomb he had prepared in the Lady Chapel of York Minster, the Archbishop proceeds :

Thirdly, as I was born in the town of Rotherham and baptized in its parish church, born into the world and born again in the holy tide flowing from the side of Jesus—would that I loved His name as I ought and as I desire—in order not to appear through forgetfulness of these things ungrateful, I will that a college of the name of Jesus should be established for ever in the aforesaid town in the place where on St. Gregory's day, in the 22nd year of King Edward IV. was laid its foundation stone. In that place I was born, and there, too—I know not by what chance, but I think it was by the grace of God—came one learned in grammar to Rotherham, and he taught me and other boys, some of whom along with me have come to high position. Wherefore, out of a desire to give thanks to my Saviour and glorify the cause [of my success] and not to seem ungrateful or forgetful of God's benefits and of whence I came, I determined, in the first place, to provide one learned in grammar freely to teach there for ever all who came. And as I perceived that the Chantry priests of the town were accustomed to live singly in the houses of lay people, to their scandal and the ruin of others, I wished in the second place to provide a common residence for them. In this view I caused a college to be erected under the name of Jesus where the first mentioned might teach grammar and where these others might board and lodge.

Stipends of the Provost, Fellows and Boys.—First I have ordained and do will that there should be allowed yearly for food and clothing to the priests, ten pounds, separate rooms, shaving, washing and cooking gratis along with certain other things more fully explained in the statutes.

In the third place, as I noticed that the church had many parishioners and that to it flock many simple folk from the neighbouring countryside, therefore that they may the more love the religion of Christ, and visit often and honour and love His Church, I have provided another fellow to teach song freely for ever, who is to have his food and clothing and receive yearly £6 13s. 4d.; and I have also made provision for ever for six boy choristers, so that divine service may be the more fittingly carried out; each of whom I will is to have 40s. for food and clothes. In the fourth place, as many boys of very quick talent are found in the town who do not all aspire to the dignity of the priesthood, it is my will and desire, for the better training of such for working trades and other pursuits, that there should be a third fellow to teach gratis the art of writing and arithmetic. He shall be called the Chaplain of St. Katherine according to the bequest of Master John Fox, who bequeathed certain property, which, however, was by no means sufficient. The College will henceforth supply the deficiency and will secure the position for ever according to the dispositions made and still to be effected. But as the

arts of writing, music and grammar are all subservient to the divine law and the Gospel, I have put over these three, and now again do will, a theologian who shall be at least a Bachelor in theology, and who shall be bound to preach the word of God throughout the province. He shall be called the Provost, being set over the other three in the ruling and ordering of the house, and he shall have yearly for food and clothing £13 6s. 8d. Thus I have incorporated and do incorporate in my college one provost, three fellows, and six boys, so that however I have offended God in His ten commandments, these ten may pray for me. I do not bind down the priests to any spiritual duties, but as I want them to escape the evils that come of idleness, I desire that they shall always be holily and assiduously employed in the grammar, song, or writing school, either in the lessons of the provost or the work of copying. Being desirous in all this to serve God, from Him alone I look for reward, for He punishes and rewards and is blessed for evermore. Amen. . . .

Then follows a list of the property appropriated by the Archbishop for the support of the college, and of the church furniture bequeathed for the better carrying out of divine worship. The latter list includes three chalices, two sets of cruets, a dozen silver spoons, a full set of high mass vestments in cloth of gold, another in red and another in purple velvet with copes to match; a precious cope in cloth of gold, a carpet for the chapel, an illuminated missal according to the use of York, a Sarum missal, besides other service books.

The will closes with a bequest of £200 to Hugh Trotter, the treasurer of his church of York and Henry Carnebull, its Archdeacon, to be used for the defence of his college if any injury should be done to it; otherwise the money was to be invested in land of the yearly value of £10 at least, or in the appropriation of a living to the college. The last clause of this long and interesting will calls upon the executors, as they would answer before God, to use their utmost diligence in procuring a thousand masses immediately after the death of the testator, so that his soul might be more mercifully dealt with.*

IV.

So far, we have seen the ample provision that existed throughout the country and the way in which it had been made. Let us now turn to watch how it fared under the

* "Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops," vol. iii. pp. 341 *et seq.* Rolls series.

Reformation, and how Edward VI. fulfilled his intention of erecting "diverse & sundrye Grammer scoles in every Countie of England & Wales, for the Educacone & brynging uppe of youth in vertu & learyng & godlynes." Most of the schools with which England was studded were swept away in the first years of the Reformation. With the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536 and 1539 fell the monastic schools and those for the lands of which the monks were trustees, as well as some of the collegiate schools. Scarcely had this destruction been effected than people began to wonder what would be the next object attacked by the rapacity of the king. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* had shown what vast wealth still remained ready to his hands. It is, therefore, a matter of little or no surprise that Henry's last Parliament enabled him to extend his pillage to the colleges, charities, hospitals, guilds, fraternities, brotherhoods, &c., which were henceforth declared to be "in the possession and seizin of the king and of his heirs and successors for ever." The reasons put forward for this drastic measure were various: many of the donors, founders and patrons, as well as other persons, were it was said "of their own avaricious and covetous minds and of their own authority" expelling the priests and converting the money to their own private uses; the incumbents again were either selling or leasing the lands, "contrary to the purposes of the founders and to the great contempt" of the king. We can understand that if there was land or money to be grabbed, Henry would take measures not to be behindhand, especially when he could remind his subjects of "the great and inestimable charges" sustained by him "for wars against France and Scotland, as also for the maintenance of our royal estate, honour, dignity and estimacion." By the sixth clause of the Act he was accordingly empowered to issue commissions to such persons as might be thought expedient who should "seize and take into the king's hands for ever" those chantries, hospitals, brotherhoods, guilds, &c., which were liable to pay first fruits and all colleges whether chargeable or not for the payments of first fruits or tenths. With this object the Commissioners were to send in returns of their inquiry so that the king might have an opportunity "of his most godly and blessed disposition . . . to have the premises used to more godly and virtuous purposes, and to

bring them into a more decent and convenient order for the commodity and wealth of his realm and for the surety of his subjects." The law's delays had no place in Henry's methods and the Commissions were issued on February 14, 1546.

The Commission for Yorkshire has been published by Mr. W. Page in "Yorkshire Chantries." It is addressed to the Archbishop of York and others, and in it the king explains how earnestly he seeks that the authority given to him by his "well-beloved and obedient subjects" should "hoolye tend to the glory of Almighty God whose honour we chieflye seek in this thing." The Commissions were issued to some of the counties in couples and the Commissioners soon got to work. Unfortunately only a few of their reports have been preserved. Few chantries, however, were seized under the Act, for Henry's mood seems to have changed. He died in January 1547, founding chantries for the repose of his soul, and the power of seizure, which was only for his lifetime, died with him.

But the guilds and chantries were not thus to escape the destruction to which they had been doomed. Greed still clamoured for their possessions and was ready with sanctimonious professions to cover its real purpose. One of the first achievements of Edward VI.'s first Parliament was to pass a fresh Act for the dissolution of the institutions, the wealth of which was coveted. Whilst Henry had stated boldly that the money was wanted for the maintenance of the wars and of his royal dignity, Edward, or rather his "most dearest and entirely beloved uncle and counsellor," the Protector Somerset, based the dissolution on religious grounds. The object of chantries was wrong, and therefore they must be done away with. Or, as the Act put it,

a great part of superstition and errors in Christian religion has been brought into the minds and estimation of men, by reason of their ignorance of the very true and perfect salvation through Christ Jesus, and by devising and fancying vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory to be done for them which be departed, the which doctrine and vain opinion by nothing more is maintained and upholden than by the abuse of trentals, chantries and other provisions made for the continuance of the said blindness and ignorance.

It was craftily hinted that there were other "good and godly uses" to which these endowments might be converted—"the

erecting of grammar schools to the education of youths in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the universities and the better provision for the poor and needy." But this conversion was a task beyond the power of Parliament, and could only be properly effected by the king with the advice of "his most prudent council." The object of this canting preamble was, of course, to get everything into the power of the king, and so we find that from Easter 1548 all colleges, free chapels, chantries, lands for the finding of stipendiary priests and for obits and lamps were to be vested in the Crown. Fraternities and guilds, except such as were craft guilds and town corporations, were also sequestered. Hospitals were not mentioned, and the colleges and halls at the universities, St. George's, Windsor, and Eton and Winchester were specially exempted. As regarded schools the Act was cunningly drawn. Those which were maintained in connection with the chantries and other condemned institutions but were not mentioned in the original foundation were to fall under the Act, whilst if a school had been provided for in the foundation but was not being maintained, its endowment was also to go to the king. Thus the Act had it both ways, and besides made no provision whatsoever in regard to song schools or elementary schools. As under the former Act, Commissioners were again to be appointed to make a fresh survey and report on the doomed institutions, and the inquiry was made with special reference to the characters of the incumbents, the necessity of the foundations and to the schools which ought to be continued.

But from the first the redeeming provisions of the Act were sadly evaded. The Commissioners were immediately appointed as under Henry VIII., though this time no bishops were included. The duty of determining in regard to the continuance of necessary schools was not allowed to remain in the possibly sympathetic hands of the local Commissioners, as the terms of the Act would have led us to expect. Nor was the excellent proposal for the conversion of the possessions of the dissolved institutions to educational and charitable purposes long entertained. An order in Council, dated April 17, 1548, after pointing out the Government's want of money and that the deficiency would be more easily supplied from these dissolved endowments than by recourse to taxation, explained

that the Council had determined to sell chantry lands of the annual value of £5000, nominating Sir Walter Mildmay and Robert Calwey to effect the sale and to decide upon the schools to be continued and the priests to be pensioned.

Mildmay and Calwey were actually appointed on June 20 and by that day month had completed their returns. Mere officials as they were, charged with the finding of money, it is not likely that they would have much interest in the saving of the schools, yet it was to their hands that the whole future of secondary education in this country was practically entrusted. To them the County Commissioners sent in their certificates showing what schools were kept, their resources and the needs of the district. These were signed by Mildmay and Calwey and the matter of the continuance of certain schools referred to the king for "other order and direction therein." In most cases this never came and so the schools perished. As Mr. Page points out somewhat severely: "The administration of the Protector Somerset brought about more urgent necessities than the foundation of grammar schools." *

The returns of the County Commissioners that have been preserved make mention of no less than 259 schools, 193 of which were grammar schools properly so called, 23 song schools, 22 elementary schools, and one writing school. This does not of course include schools that possessed no endowment. Nor can it be an exhaustive list of the endowed schools in the counties dealt with, for whilst 17 schools are credited to Essex and 15 to Hereford, none are returned for Derbyshire, which seems to show that attention to the matter of schools was largely dependent on the tastes or energy of the Commissioners. In addition to the schools there were numerous school and university exhibitions derived from the endowments of chantries and prebends, and these, along with the song schools which had made England famous as a musical nation, were all ruthlessly swept away as instruments of superstition.

Some of the schools were continued, but on a fixed sum in lieu of their old share in the chantry or college estates, and as this sum continued to depreciate with the decrease in the

* "Yorkshire Chantries." vol. i. p. xv.

value of money the schools dwindled away. Others were allowed to linger for a time, awaiting the definite further orders which were never made, and 14 were refounded, with a great flourish of trumpets and the conferring of a new name, out of money derived from the confiscated endowments of other foundations. Of 204 grammar schools mentioned in the chantry certificates and continuance or refoundation warrants 132 are still in existence, though 19 have been degraded into elementary schools and 4 into exhibition funds. In some cases the revenues of a school continued were augmented, but in many more cases they were woefully diminished. We have seen, for instance, how three schools were kept up in connection with the College of Jesus at Rotherham, with a master for each and a provost over all. The revenues of the college were considerable; it possessed much valuable plate, and was housed in a "very fair" mansion house, with premises on the other side of the street for the free schools. The grammar master had £10 19s. 4*d.*, the song master £7 12s. 8*d.*, and the writing master £6 6s. Henry's Commissioners reported:

The necessity [of the same college] is preaching the woord of God, the instruction of chyldren in the knowledges of grammar, song, and wrytynge, in the sayd country, beyng very barayn of knowledge, and also the continuall bryngyne upp of 6 poore chyldren, and the mayntenance of Gode's service in the parysshe church of Rotherham, wyth the kepyng together all the prystes in the sayd church of Rotherham. And the same is observed accordynly, and no landes solde nor put away sithens the statute sayynge only one.

Yet what happened? The continuation warrant tells us that the grammar master's stipend and the cost of the keep of the six scholars were to be continued till further orders. The song school and wrytynge school were abolished and their masters pensioned, and the butler and cook sent adrift penniless. Thus the king undertook for the moment charges which amounted to no more than about one-third of the clear revenue, and the further orders ratifying the continuation warrant seem to have been looked for in vain. This was, it will be admitted, a poor way of fulfilling the magnificent promises of erecting "diverse and sundrye grammar schools in every county of England and Wales," and affords ample justification for Mr. Rashdall's caustic remark that "the net result of the Reforma-

tion changes was to produce a great dearth of schools,"* which is further borne out by the statement made to Queen Elizabeth by the speaker of the House of Commons in 1562 that "at least an hundred [schools] were wanting in England which before this time had been."†

Such inconsistency between the professions of the Act and its actual administration was too glaring to escape notice. The dissatisfaction which was felt was not long in finding sharp expression, especially in the mouths of those who were at all interested in education. Lever, Master of St. John's, Cambridge, in his sermons before Edward VI. in 1550 went boldly into particulars :

Pleaseth it your Majesty with your honourable council . . . hear what hath been done in your time. [In spite of the ordinances of the Act] now many grammar schools be taken, sold and made away to the great slander of you and your laws, to the grievous offence of the people, to the miserable drowning of youth in ignorance, and the sore decay of the Universities. There was in the north country, amongst the rude people in knowledge, a grammar school founded, having in the University of Cambridge of the same foundation eight scholarships, ever replenished with the scholars of that school, which school is now sold, decayed, and lost. Mo[re] there be of like sort handled. But I recite this only because I know that the sale of it was once stayed by charity, and yet afterwards brought to pass by bribery.

And again :

God's word and the king's laws be open to every man's eyes. Take heed unto the king's statutes. There ye shall find that the Nobles and Commons do give, and the king doth take into his hands abbeys, colleges, and chantries for erecting of grammar schools, the godly bringing up of youth, the further augmenting of the Universities, and better provision for the poor. This shall ye find in the Acts of Parliament and in the king's statutes, but what shall be found in your practice and in your deeds ?‡

The blow which struck the lower schools could not fail to be felt by the Universities, of which they were the feeders. For a time, as Dom Gasquet points out, "these great homes of learning were threatened with nothing less than ruin." He then quotes the following from one of Latimer's sermons :

* "Harrow School," chap. ii. p. 15.

† Strype, "Annals of Reformation," p. 437, i.

‡ "Arber's Reprint," p. 81, quoted by Leach, "English Schools at the Reformation," pp. 78-9.

Truly, it is a pitiful thing to see schools so neglected; every true Christian ought to lament the same . . . to consider what hath been plucked from abbeys, colleges, and chantries, it is marvel no more to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation. . . . Schools are not maintained; scholars have not exhibitions. . . . Very few there be that help poor scholars. . . . It would pity a man's heart to hear that that I hear of the state of Cambridge; what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. . . . I think there be at this day (1550) ten thousand students less than were written these twenty years and fewer preachers.*

But it may here be urged that all the sad havoc thus wrought amongst our ancient educational institutions was done either unwittingly or through the necessity of abolishing establishments the primary purpose of which was to minister to superstition and error. It may be contended that the grave injuries that followed formed no part of the intentions of the framers of the Acts which proved such instruments of destruction. One would fain hope and believe that such indeed was the case, but the evidence tells a widely different story.

We have heard the smug promises and professions put forward in the Acts, and we have seen how those professions were reduced or ignored in practice. "The plunderers," says Dr. Jessop, "were astute men in that age of systematic plunder," and were "mad with lust of gain."† In the Certificates sent in under Henry's Act, the Collegiate schools were thrust as much as possible into the background, in order that the school might be overwhelmed in the College which perished "as a mere abode of superstition, instead of being saved as a home of learning."‡

Again, even whilst the Commissioners were busy sending in their returns under Edward's Act, we have seen what indecent haste was made by an order in Council to get rid of the awkward promises by which the course of the Act through Parliament had been smoothed and its course largely secured. A month or two later we find from the Privy Council Registers that over £25,000, or about £500,000 in present value, was realised by the sale of chantry lands between July and December (1548) and expended upon the army and navy and upon pensions to various officers and court officials. We know,

* "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," vol. ii. pp. 519-20.

† *Nineteenth Century*, March 1898.

‡ "English Schools at the Reformation," p. 87.

too, how in many cases the ratification for the continuation of certain schools was never granted, and how in other cases foundations were actually dissolved and their endowments confiscated against the express recommendation of the Commissioners.* In the face of such facts as these are we not rather justified in supposing that the promises made in the Acts were inserted for the mere sake of appearance and as inducements to Parliament to refrain from opposition? At any rate, one would have thought that if those professions had rested upon any solid basis of genuine intention, they would have met with more show of regard from those who had made them. We are the more confirmed in this view of the matter by what so judicial a scholar and so restrained a writer as Dom Gasquet says of the administration of the Acts in the case of the guilds and their relief of the poor:

However much [he says] I should like to consider that this robbery of the poor and sick by the Crown was accidental and unpremeditated, I am bound most reluctantly by the evidence to hold that the pillage was fully premeditated and deliberately and consciously carried out. . . . An examination of the original documents will show not only that the Royal Commissioners were as a rule careful . . . to distinguish between the portions intended for religious purposes and those set aside for perpetual charity to the sick and poor, but in many cases they actually proposed to the Court of Augmentation to protect the latter and preserve them for the objects of Christian charity intended by the original donors. In every such case the document reveals the fact that this suggestion in the interest of common justice was rejected by the Crown official, and a plain intimation is afforded that the Crown will take even these sums intended for the relief of poverty.†

This brings our inquiry to a close. Cursory though our glance over the past may have been, two things stand out plain and indisputable. In the first place, it is evident that our secondary schools are no more the work of the Reformation or its principles than are our national universities themselves. If the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge had not been exempted from the Chantries Act and had met with no more favourable treatment than that meted out to the grammar schools, it does not seem improbable that we might have had

* "Yorkshire Chantries," vol. ii. p. xi.

† "Some Aspects of Medieval Guild-Life," *Downside Review*, July 1898. [No. 31 of *Fourth Series*.]

nothing better to look to than Durham or such monstrosities as London and Victoria, with perhaps a hope for something better in the proposed foundation at Birmingham. Secondly, it seems equally clear that free education is neither the invention of the Reformation nor the sole monopoly of our boasted modern progress. It was rather a means used by the Church from the beginning—the inspiration of Catholic charity—and its provision in this country, in elementary, secondary and university schools, the outcome of Catholic piety and generosity.

On the other hand, the Reformers had indeed a unique opportunity for advancing the cause of education without cost to themselves or to the nation. Had they used it as they might have done, and as in fact they promised to do, England might now have been in possession of a plentiful supply of schools instead of being in the midst of a painful endeavour to supply her deficiencies. The educational tradition would never have lapsed, and our ancient schools of grammar and song would have turned out an educated and musical people. We can measure the greatness of the national loss from the little that was saved. At Birmingham, for instance, the people were allowed to buy back the lands of their Guild of Holy Cross and employ the endowment in the foundation of a grammar school. Those lands, growing in value with the growth of the town, have appreciated from about £30 to £30,000, and to-day maintain a famous high school and six grammar schools. Such was the chance which Edward and his counsellors threw away.

Thus Catholics not only lost what they had, but they were prevented by law from repairing that loss. Prohibited from receiving education here they sought it in defiance of penal laws across the seas, and after centuries, ere even the legal ban was lifted, returning from exile they again, out of their poverty, set their hands to raise homes in England for the education of their youth. It is only seventy years since the Emancipation Bill, yet our colleges and schools are many and multiplying over the land—a living witness that the educational zeal of our Catholic forefathers is still an active force which no Reformer supplied and which no blow from a Reformer's hand could kill.

J. B. MILBURN.

Science Notices.

Photography in Astronomical Research—Eros—Saturn's Ninth Satellite.—The superiority of the photographic plate over the eye in discovering astronomical bodies has been recently strikingly exemplified in the discovery of the Asteroid Eros and the Ninth Satellite of Saturn. Though Eros is a tiny planet, probably not much more than twenty miles in diameter and therefore not in itself an object of much interest, it seems destined to be of the greatest use in enabling astronomers to more accurately determine the distance of the sun from the earth, and consequently to secure increased exactitude in all measurements in the celestial spaces.

Eros was discovered on August 13, 1898, at the Urania Observatory at Berlin by Herr G. Witt. The find may be said to be accidental as the revelation of a new Asteroid was not the object of the research. Herr Witt was exposing a photographic plate with the purpose of obtaining on it the trail of another previously known minor planet. In this he succeeded, but the plate revealed another, though fainter trail—a trail of unusual length because of the rapidity with which the planet had moved, showing that the newly discovered object had a remarkable orbit. Further investigations were at once made which showed that Eros is a planet whose average distance from the sun (five-and-a-half millions of miles) is less than that of Mars, though it is at times distant from the earth not much more than one-third of the distance within which Mars approaches it.

But though Herr Witt noticed the trail of Eros on the photographic plate in 1898, photographic plates used in 1893 really discovered it. Careful search on the many plates kept at the Harvard College Observatory in America has found its existence on thirteen plates. Its value as a means of measuring the distances of celestial bodies depends upon its nearness to the earth, it being our nearest celestial neighbour excepting the moon. An opportunity for exact measurements as to the sun's distance from us will occur in the latter part of 1900 and in the commencement of 1901, when the earth and Eros will come within 31,000,000 miles.

Though not promising to be of much use to the mathematician, the recent discovery of Saturn's Ninth Satellite rivals the discovery of Eros in its photographic interest; it is another instance of the sensitive-

ness of modern plates. The discovery was made by Professor W. H. Pickering at the Harvard College observatory at Arequipa, Peru, with the new rapid lens. The Satellite is faintly recorded on four photographs of Saturn taken on the nights of August 16, 17, and 18, 1898, each plate having had an exposure of about two hours. So faint is the image that there was little chance of it ever having been discovered by the eye. The Satellite is estimated to be of the fifteenth magnitude and from measurements of the co-ordinates of its position from the four plates, it is estimated that its period of revolution round the parent planet is about seventeen months. Thus it is the outermost of the nine Satellites, the period of Japetus, the farthest from Saturn, of the known ones, being only about $79\frac{1}{3}$ days. The distance of Japetus is 2,225,000 miles; that of the new Satellite, 7,500,000 miles. The diameter of this new celestial object is not yet known, but from its brightness it is estimated to be something between 100 and 200 miles.

Ætheric Telegraphy.—In July 1898 the progress of wireless telegraphy was noticed in this REVIEW. There could be no better example of the value of the specialist than the strides of progress which the new telegraphy has taken during the last year. Owing to the persistent efforts of Mr. Marconi, who has given the important subject his undivided attention for four years, wireless telegraphy is now no longer the laboratory experiment, but is established in the world of practice. Mr. Marconi and the company who have been supplying him with means for carrying on his work, have not hesitated to introduce a sensational element in their experiments, whereby they have secured public attention, and it is the fact of signalling without wires across the Channel from the South Foreland to the village of Winereux, near Boulogne, that has filled the newspapers with columns in praise of Mr. Marconi's achievements. This is a distance of thirty miles. Had this distance been doubled over a space in this country the feat would hardly have secured equal notice.

The Channel experiments are the longest distance test yet attempted, but Mr. Marconi thinks that the same apparatus would easily transmit signals from Newhaven to Dieppe, a distance of 64 miles.

The vertical conductor is an essential feature in wireless telegraphy. Its height determines the distance to which signals can be transmitted; for instance, a wire 20 ft. high will signal to a distance of a mile, 40 ft. to four miles, 60 ft. to nine miles, 100 ft. to twenty-five miles, and 120 ft. to thirty-six miles.

The height of the conductors used in the Channel experiment is

150 ft.; those used between Alum Bay and Poole, a distance of eighteen miles, are 80 ft. In fact, the distance to which effective signalling extends varies as the square of the height of the rod.

The experiment across the Channel has shown that wireless telegraphy is independent of weather, signals having been transmitted through fog, rain, snow, and thunderstorms. But the independence of atmospherical conditions had been previously demonstrated in experiments of over fourteen months' continuance between Alum Bay and Bournemouth.

One of Mr. Marconi's neatest feats in wireless signalling was carried out at the request of the *Dublin Express*. This was the reporting from the high seas the results and incidents of the Kingstown Regatta. A land station was erected in the grounds of the harbour master at Kingstown. A steamer was chartered to follow the racing yachts, the instruments being placed in the cabin. A telephone was fixed from the land station at Kingstown to the *Express* office in Dublin, and as the messages came from the ship they were telephoned to Dublin, and published in succeeding editions of the evening papers. The relative positions of the various yachts were thus wirelessly signalled while the races were in progress over a distance of ten miles, and were published long before the yachts had reached the harbour.

The utility of the system for communicating between lightships and the shore has been demonstrated between the South Foreland lightship and the East Goodwin lightship, a distance of twelve miles, and the system has worked through all the storms of this year, which have been exceptional in their severity. A short while ago there was a collision between a steamship and the East Goodwin lightship during a thick fog, resulting in slight injury to the lightship. The fact was immediately signalled to the shore. This was a somewhat lucky incident, as it has done much to show the usefulness of the system. Regarding the future prospects of ætheric telegraphy, Mr. Preece in his recent address on the subject at the Society of Arts gave the following sober estimate of its probable development :

There can be no question of the commercial value of the system for lightships, shipping generally, and for naval and military purposes, but for commercial uses, such as telegraphic communication with France, the system is at present nowhere. A single cable to France could transmit 2500 words a minute without any difficulty. A single Marconi circuit could not transmit more than twenty words a minute. It is not wanted in this direction. Its name has led to the popular illusion that the poles and wires which disfigure our house-tops will disappear, but there is no evidence at present that a single wire can be dispensed with. It may add to our systems at work. It cannot diminish the number of circuits at work.

But if the projected experiments between Newhaven and Dieppe are successful, wireless telegraphy will have a chance of asserting its wider claims. For there is no cable communication between those stations, and therefore no sunk capital to be considered. Under such conditions it would be folly not to use the ætheric conductor which nature provides free of cost.

The Transmission of Electric Energy to Long Distances.—

The paper on long-distance transmission of electric energy read before the Society of Arts last winter by Professor Forbes shows that long-distance transmission is no longer the dream of the enthusiast, but at the present moment possible. If advance is not made in electric transmission of energy it will not be from deficiency of knowledge, but from the apathy of the capitalist, who rarely is abreast of scientific possibilities, and whose caution is the drag of progress. In planning the Niagara plant which has been fully described in this REVIEW, Professor Forbes solved the question of long-distance transmission, and the machinery installed at Niagara is prepared for very distant transmission, though up to the present the distance has not exceeded twenty-five miles, since the consumer has come to the vicinity of the Falls.

Those who followed Professor Forbes' lucid paper must have felt convinced that in many cases electric energy might be transmitted for hundreds of miles with pecuniary advantage. The Professor posed as financier as well as electrician, and brought forward a scheme to tempt the stubborn capitalist. In a long-distance transmission capital is chiefly required for the copper; on this it is proposed to raise a mortgage, the copper being an absolutely safe security, since it can be taken away if the company fails. By this transaction the huge capital otherwise required by those who wish to transmit the power can be avoided. It is estimated that where £50 is paid per horse power, 40 per cent. may be quoted as the nett income.

Professor Forbes states that of all industries to which electric transmission is applicable, gold mining is the one which has come mostly to his notice as wanting a continuous supply of power day and night, and often without any economical means of getting it except by electric transmission. In these cases it will often be profitable to the gold miner to pay a high price for his power. The distance already considered goes up to 250 miles in India, New Zealand, and Egypt, and if the Rhodesia mines show generally such returns as the Geelong and Selukwe mines have done, it appears that the power of the Victoria

Falls may be economically transmitted in some cases to 500 miles and pay well. An instructive case is that of the Coolgardie Goldfields, which are so far from a port that coal is very expensive and water for the boilers could hardly be obtained. It has been found that it was actually more economical to generate by steam engines at the coast, a distance of 200 miles, where coal and water were available and to transmit power all the distance electrically, rather than to transport coal. In this case the miners were ready to pay as much as £180 per annum for the horse power.

Besides gold mining there are obviously many other cases which can be assisted by long-distance transmission. In fact, it will be invaluable wherever there is a continuous demand for power day and night. Such is the case with irrigation, and the value of transmitted energy for the purpose is likely to be shortly exemplified in the utilisation of the Nile Cataracts. On this work Professor Forbes has been engaged for the last two years, and his report is now in the hands of the Egyptian Government. In this report he has worked out statistics to show that the electric lighting of Cairo could be done cheaper by power generated at the First Cataract than by steam engines at Cairo. The distance is 400 miles. He does not, however, purpose to use the power immediately for this purpose :

The Government has far more important uses for the power, not only in the irrigation of the country as it is, but still more for the perennial irrigation which will be so much extended when the great reservoir designed by Mr. Willcocks, Sir William Garstin, and Sir Benjamin Baker shall be completed by Mr. John Aird. You may take it as certain that before long the Cataracts will be harnessed and forced to assist in developing not only Egypt proper, but the Sudan, and specially the Dongola province up to the Fourth Cataract, which, with efficient irrigation, may become the most fertile country in the world.

Glass Pavements.—For long it has been apparent that a satisfactory substance for paving the roads of cities is a growing necessity, and all materials hitherto used may be said to be failures. The desideratum is certainly very far from being attained in wood pavements, which, from an hygienic point of view alone, are one of the evils of the Metropolis.

Glass is the latest contribution to street paving materials, a fact which at first sight may seem ridiculous. But pavement glass is not glass as we know it, but glass brought to a special molecular condition. In this state it is called devitrified glass, or ceramo-crystal. A pavement of the material has been already laid in Lyons, and since it was

finished last November it has been subjected to considerable traffic by day and night, and has withstood it admirably. Details of this pavement have recently been published in the journal of the Society of Arts.

The devitrified glass is laid in the form of blocks containing sixteen parts in the form of squares. These blocks are closely fitted together so that water cannot pass between them. The whole pavement has the appearance of a huge chess-board. The works for manufacturing the devitrified glass are at the village of Demi-Lune, about six miles from Lyons. The factories cover nearly 8000 square yards of ground. The raw material for the devitrified glass are broken bottles, of which there are tons stored in the yards. The broken glass is heated to a temperature of 1250° and compressed in matrices by hydraulic force. It is said that the phenomenon of devitrification produces a kind of dissolution, more apparent than real, for when subjected to chemical analysis the devitrified glass retains its intrinsic physical and chemical qualities, except its transparency and brittleness, and becomes by way of contrast tougher than stone. The advantages claimed for the glass pavement are : (1) It has greater resistance than stone ; (2) it is a poor conductor of cold, ice will not form upon it readily ; (3) dirt will not accumulate upon it as easily as on stone ; (4) it does not harbour microbes ; (5) it is more durable than stone and equally cheap.

It is proposed to use devitrified glass for other purposes besides paving, such as for tubes, pipes, vats, tiles, chimneys, factories, and buildings generally. One of the attractions at the forthcoming Paris Exhibition is to be a glass house. To those who in the future live in such a structure, the old proverb that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones will not apply, since we are told that the resistance of such a structure would certainly be equal to that of the most solid houses of the day.

Living Crystals.—Mr. Edward A. Minchin's discourse on living crystals, delivered at the Royal Institution, suggests the thought that although there must be a line of demarcation betwixt organic and inorganic matter, the boundary may not be exceedingly broad. According to Mr. Minchin there are crystals of two classes : (1) Crystals of inorganic origin, bodies whose remarkable properties are due to physical laws which can be defined, calculated, and reproduced, and which are in no way connected with the actions of life. (2) Crystals of organic origin which may be called bio-crystals. These

have been deposited within living bodies, and owe their origin to organic activities.

An instance of a crystalline body which occurs both as an inorganic substance and as a living crystal is calcite, well known both as a mineral and as forming the skeleton of many forms of animal life. As the latter it can be found and studied in the simple group of organisms known as Ascons, the most primitive order of calcareous sponges.

In all calcareous sponges the skeleton is composed of minute splinters and spicules of calcite, which invariably conform to one of three types of form: (1) Rod-like, or needle-shaped spicules, usually more or less curved and always having unlike ends; (2) three-rayed or triradiate spicules, consisting each of a basal system of three rays, exactly similar to the triradiate spicules and an additional ray tacked on to it.

The triradiate systems may be divided into three classes: (1) That in which the three rays are unequal in size and irregular in arrangement, forming an asymmetrical figure, a class rarely met with; (2) that in which the triradiate system exhibits a definite symmetry, the rays meeting at equal angles, so that irrespective of the unequal development of the rays themselves, the spicule is symmetrical about three planes; (3) that in which the angles may be such that the spicule shows a marked bilateral symmetry, having an unpaired and two paired angles with corresponding unpaired and paired. Each of these three forms may have an extra ray tacked on and so become quadriradiate.

But the symmetrical pattern of the spicules of Ascons do not in the least resemble the form of the inorganic calcite crystal, several features being in direct opposition to those of the latter; for instance, in inorganic crystals their parts are so connected together that one part cannot vary independently of other parts. In the spicule of the organic crystal any part can vary independently of the rest. The rod-like forms always have the two ends unlike, the triradiate may have all the rays unlike and of different sizes. It is also very seldom that a quadriradiate is found with the apical ray similar to the basal rays.

But in spite of these differences it can be indisputably proved that the spicules are crystals, each one being a single crystal, by their behaviour to polarised light and by etching experiments.

The great difference therefore between the inorganic and the organic crystal is one of external form. In order to discover what has caused the modification it is necessary to examine the spicules as

part of a living organism. This can be done by studying the simplest calcareous sponge known as *lynthus*.

Mr. Minchin compares this to a thin walled vase having a wide opening at the top and a great many minute openings or pores in the sides. During life an internal mechanism produces a current of water flowing in through the spaces into the cavity and passing out by the opening or osculum at the summit. The wall of the young sponge is very thin and delicate, and requires the spicules to stiffen it so as to give it support. The manner in which the spicules perform this important function is thus described :

In the simplest cases only triradiates are present and then they are arranged in a single layer, all placed with one ray pointing downwards away from the opening at the top. The rays of different spicules overlap and cross one another, and so produce a sort of lattice work with meshes rather like a honeycomb. In the meshes are placed the pores, and at first the arrangement is such that there are the same number of pores and spicules, the result being that each spicule has a pore in each of the interspaces between the arms. As the sponge grows, however, new pores and new spicules are constantly being formed, so that the simple arrangement is upset to some extent, though the same general pattern can be made out. When an extra fourth ray is added on to the triradiate system, it is always placed so as to project into the cavity, and if the extra ray is curved, it always points up towards the large opening at the top. If simple needle-shaped spicules are present they are always placed on the outside, with the straight portion of the shaft embedded in the work, and the curved portion sticking out into the water.

Of all systems that could be devised the triradiate system appears most appropriate to the conditions of sponge life. For instance, the sponge lives in waves and currents, and the frame work needs flexibility as well as strength. By the triradiate system the wall is at the same time supported and given freedom to bend and yield with the action of powerful currents.

If the rods united into more extensive and elaborate systems so as to form a continuous trellis-work, there would be greater strength, but at the expense of brittleness, which would not withstand the currents.

But in addition to the outer palisade, a plan of defence has been schemed out for the inner surface :

This of course is easily done by making some of the rods project into the interior. But for reasons of internal economy, it would be inconvenient for the spikes on the inner surface to slant out from it like those outside. Considerations of interior comfort require here that the spikes should start straight from the wall even though they curve at their tips. Now the spikes require support, and this cannot be obtained in the soft wall of the sponge, too thin to hold firmly a spicule stuck at right angles to its surface. These difficulties are overcome, however, by the upright

spike being stuck on to the triradiate system, and this done, the result is at once a quadriradiate spicule, a great addition to the strength and stability of the sponge structure.

Thus in form and arrangement the spicules represent a piece of engineering devised to meet all the requirements of the sponge's environments.

Concerning the development of the calcareous spicules, these are formed within cells derived from the external layer of the body wall, but each ray owes its origin to a distinct cell.

The question arises how the primitive skeletal elements, the rods, originated. Mr. Minchin thinks it is reasonable to suppose that the spicules of Ascons had at one time the form as well as the constitution of inorganic crystals, and originated as bye-products of the wear and tear of the living substance. When it was necessary for the organism that the spicules should assume a particular form, their natural form became altered. How the living substance can thus influence the growing crystal and compel it to break the natural laws, so that it is adapted to the wants of the former, is a mystery unsolved. When the change takes place,

the crystal has crossed, so to speak, the line which separates the living from the lifeless world, and must now be regarded from an entirely different standpoint, that is to say, as a part of a living body. As such it is subject to new influences and is governed by new laws, which, as it were, override those by which the lifeless crystal is ruled.

That each spicule if it had been deposited in any inorganic matrix would have had the contours of an ordinary crystal of calcite is proved from the observations of Sollas, who showed that when sponge spicules are placed in a solution of carbonate of lime new layers of calcite are deposited which tend to restore the ordinary crystalline form.

Mr. Minchin considers that the behaviour of the crystals furnishes us with a beautiful instance of adaption, by which is meant the fact "that any living organism tends to have just that form, structure, and organisation in all its parts which it requires in order to maintain its existence in its peculiar mode of life, whatever it may be."

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The Everglades of Florida.—The curious formation which, under the name of the Everglades, occupies the interior of the southern point of Florida, presents the anomaly of a tract of land 130 miles in length by 70 in width, which, though situated in one of the Atlantic coast States, has remained almost untrodden by the white man. Hence the author of a recent work ("Across the Everglades," by Hugh L. Willoughby. London: Dent. 1898) has had an almost unique experience in successfully traversing it in a canoe from the western shore of the peninsula on the Gulf of Mexico, to its eastern or Atlantic seaboard. The general impression of this region, as a vast tract of swamp into which the Seminole Indians had been driven by the forces of the United States, he declares to be absolutely erroneous, and he accordingly seeks to remove this misconception.

It will be my endeavour to show [he says] as this account of my last winter's expedition progresses, that the word *swamp*, as we understand it, has no application to the Everglades; that it is a country of pure water; that this water is moving in one direction or another depending on the natural topography of the country; that the air is wholesome, pure, and free from disease germs; that near the coast and the mangroves the mosquitoes thrive; but deep in the Everglades, in the winter time at least, you can sleep comfortably without a net. No stagnant pools exist for the larvæ to thrive in.

The Everglades consist, in point of fact, of a shallow lake basin, fed by subterranean springs, and choked to such an extent with a peculiar vegetation that it is impenetrable save where an open channel can be followed to one of the few gaps in its water-jungle. One or two short rivers cut through the rim of the basin and drain off its superfluous waters into the Atlantic on one side, and into the Gulf of Mexico on the other. On breaking through the fringing woods that skirt its shores a pathless sea of grass comes into view with its dead level extending as far as the eye can see, diversified by but few and insignificant island clumps. Starting from the Harney River on the western coast, Mr. Willoughby, with one attendant and two canoes, made his way in a north-easterly direction to the Miami River, draining into the Atlantic. In addition to the obstacle to navigation presented by floating matted grasses often requiring laborious pushing

and driving to force the canoe through, a more formidable barrier is formed by the saw-grass, which grows to a height of from four to eight or ten feet high. As its name implies, it has a sawlike edge which cuts the fingers to the bone, while if cut down in front, it leaves sharp points that spike the canoe. To push the canoe from behind was sometimes possible, but the big saw-grass was practically impassable save for short distances. The water was pure enough to drink, and an island, sometimes covering only a few square feet, was always selected for the camping ground. Game was plentiful, and sometimes deer were seen feeding in four inches of water, but few animals were shot, as it would have taken too much time to go in search of them. Occasionally deep holes or pools were passed, eight or ten feet wide and five feet deep, looking like an aquarium with fair-sized bass swimming about among aquatic vegetation growing on a rock bottom. Some of them had in the centre a hole a few inches in diameter down which the pole could be pushed for a considerable distance, and from which water was eddying up. These he believes to be the main sources of the water supply of the Everglades. The actual canoe journey, which lasted fifteen days, was made in January 1897.

A Silver City.—The city of Catorce, lying due east of the station of the same name on the Mexican National Railway, at a distance of eight miles over a steep mountain road, is one of the most interesting in Mexico, as the one in which the national customs have survived in perhaps the most unadulterated purity. Inaccessible save on horseback or on foot, its narrow winding streets, which run up and down hill at an angle sometimes of 45 degrees, have never, as may easily be imagined, been traversed by anything on wheels, although a population of 40,000 has at times dwelt in them. Its origin recalls that of Rome, as it was the stronghold of a band of fourteen of the most notorious and successful road-robbers in Mexico. They it was who discovered and worked for many years the rich silver deposits which vein the countryside and adjacent mountains. All transport is performed by men or mules, on whose backs machinery, goods, and passengers must be carried. Although unvisited except by those called thither by business, Catorce deserves to be better known. The ride over the mountains, though not without its perils, is full of beauty, and the shifting colours of the mountains form a picturesque background for the gleaming walls of the city, overhanging a ravine in which a torrent foams thousands of feet below. A fine and richly decorated cathedral, with the little square in front, occupy the only

level spot in the town. All kinds of silver ore, from carbonates to the refractory ore assaying \$15,000 to the ton, are found here, and the population varies from 8000 to 40,000, according to the prosperity of the mines, their chief or sole industry.

State of the Belgian Congo.—Lieutenant Andrews, an English officer in the service of the Congo Free State, in which he has held the place of chief of a station five weeks' journey from the coast, gives some interesting particulars of the condition of affairs throughout the territory traversed by him on his voyage down stream. As far as Leopoldville, the terminus of the railway on Stanley Pool, the shores of the lower river are comparatively peaceful and orderly, but from Leopoldville to Lake Tanganyika perpetual fighting is going on between the State troops and the natives, to such an extent that the garrisons of almost all the posts on the Congo passed by him were absent on military expeditions, and the zone of safety and civilisation above the Pool does not extend a mile inland from the river. Just before his departure, the large station of Kabambare, in the Tanganyika region, had been captured by mutineers, and five out of the twelve white officers stationed there were killed or wounded. Baron Dhanis and his expedition were still fighting in the Stanley Falls district when Lieutenant Andrews left in February, and in the district where he himself had been employed a series of expeditions had been out, directed generally against chiefs who failed to send in the requisite amount of rubber. In Equator, Bangala, Aruwimi, or Stanley Falls provinces, any one venturing a mile from the river would run the risk of being slaughtered and eaten, and even the native crews of steamers sent ashore to cut wood are frequently massacred. He denounces what he terms the "disgraceful maladministration" prevailing, in order to deter other Englishmen from entering the service of the State, which makes no provision for the comfort or health of foreigners, and leaves stations sometimes for six months without a supply of food. The barbarities committed he ascribes to the rubber and ivory trade, to procure which commodities war is levied on the natives, and as by the commission on them the officers can earn a large addition to their pay, a direct premium is offered for massacre and oppression. The Belgian officers, moreover, do not go voluntarily to the Congo, but the King appeals to certain regiments to furnish them, and those selected know that they have no choice between acceptance and the sacrifice of all chance of promotion at home.

Funeral Rites in Burma.—The curious ceremonies attending the obsequies of a Burmese Phoongyee, or priest, are compared by a correspondent of the *Times of Burma* to those at an Irish wake, and he might have added "only more so." The gilded coffin, containing the body embedded in pulverised charcoal, is placed on a staging erected in an open space near the village, or perhaps in the brook that runs near it. Here a sort of performance is given by young men in various stages of intoxication, and with faces fantastically parti-coloured, who dance, howl, and utter ribald jests to the clashing of cymbals and other noises, interpolating occasionally extravagant and semi-burlesque expressions of sorrow. Meantime at each corner of the platform are ranged sheds occupied by the Phoongyees of the neighbouring villages, who bring with them towering structures of bamboo, called "pyathats," in numbers corresponding to the rank of the deceased or the estimation in which he was held. At a given signal these are removed in succession and borne with the coffin in a sort of procession, accompanied by wild dances to music equally wild, at the conclusion of which the body is taken out of the coffin and burned on a pyre of bamboo gaudily decorated with coloured paper. The orgie often ends in one or more fights between the bearers of rival "pyathats," in which "dahs," or swords, and other weapons are freely used.

Jewish Colonisation.—The Jewish settlements in South America, established as a refuge for the Jews exiled from Russia by the association of which Baron Hirsch was the founder, are beginning to give sufficient promise of prosperity to justify the wisdom of the undertaking. At Moisesville, the oldest of the colonies, although the harvest has not been very good, and the price of cereals has been low, more than half the settlers have paid off the annuity, either altogether or in part, and not only have the subsidies given to settlers entirely ceased, but several have already brought over their parents from Russia. This colony now contains 168 families, or 825 inhabitants, with 8301 hectares of land under cultivation, and has a handsome synagogue, a school, a pharmacy, and fine public baths. In Mauricio 200 families give a population of 1045, with 9000 hectares of land, chiefly under wheat and maize. In Entre Rios the association possesses 154,500 hectares, with a population of 4856, but of a less homogeneous character than in the other settlements. The work of the association will now be directed to the introduction of stock-raising, as it is felt that the position of the colonists will be precarious as long

as they depend exclusively on agricultural produce. Lucerne will have to be grown to provide good fodder, and means will be taken to improve the breed both of horses and cattle by the importation of superior animals.

The Vex'd Bermoothes.—Bermuda, though so familiar in name as the farthest outpost of the British North American Empire, is so far off the ordinary track of travel as to be to the general public almost a *terra incognita*. An isolated group of islands, over 600 miles from the nearest point of the American mainland, is formed by the most northerly coral reef in the world, where the subsidence of a volcanic peak furnished a foundation to the insect builders on the edge and slopes of its submerged crater. Over 100 islands of various sizes form a broken ring, of which the remaining section is under water, round an area of about twenty miles in length by ten in width. The channels separating the islands are so shoal and narrow that it is possible to go by land over causeways and bridges from one extremity of the group to the other, except for one deep and dangerous passage crossed by a horse ferry. The approach for ships is through channels in the submerged portion of the reef, of which one, the Narrows, has been dredged and deepened so as to be passable by vessels of large size. The climate is exceptionally equable, and admits of the growth of an immense variety of tropical and sub-tropical products, as, while frost is unknown and fires unnecessary, the temperature seldom passes 85°, and frequent and often torrential rains supply the deficiency of surface water. In addition to the cedar, which covers the low hills and is indigenous, the principal product of the islands is the Bermuda or Harris lily, introduced some years ago, and now growing so freely that it is impossible to eradicate it when planted. The flower will, however, deteriorate, unless care be bestowed on its cultivation, which is so profitable that an acre will yield as much as £480 worth of bulbs for sale in the New York market. There they are classified according to their quality, and distributed to gardeners in all parts of the world. A less romantic product is the onion, also a lucrative crop, as well as the potato, which is dug at Christmas and in March. A correspondent of the *Times*, writing in the issue of April 4, gives a delightful account of Bermuda as a winter resort, and says it combines "the climate of Northern Morocco with the scenery of Denmark, though with a greater variety and intensity of colouring."

Chitral and its People.—Sir George Robertson prefaces his brilliant history of the siege and relief of Chitral ("Chitral: the Story

of a Minor Siege." London: Methuen. 1898) with a description of the country which formed the scene of that epic in duodecimo. The giant landscape, in which size and desolation are combined, dwarfs, he tells us, man and his works, making the stage for human action seem microscopic, so small is the space it occupies in the surrounding wilderness.

It consists [he goes on] of tiny fan-shaped oases of cultivation on soil deposited by mountain streams, just before they noisily hurl themselves into a main river. These torrents are the tutelary deities as well as the creators of the village holdings, for they provide life and nourishment through little canals to the fields, which would otherwise vanish unused under the rainless sky. Such fertile patches, completely dwarfed by the limitless expanse of rock, glacier, and crumbling hillside, are beautiful to the eye of the traveller wearied with the monotonous grey tones of the vast slopes of shale or shingle, where his hazardous path has long undulated or curved, when it was not climbing or descending bluff, spur, or cliff by toilsome zigzags.

Spring in these valley deltas comes with magical suddenness, the blossoming of the fruit trees following close upon the disappearance of the snow. Winter, though bitterly cold, is dry and windless in the sheltered valleys, but savage indeed on the passes, with zero temperatures and blood-congealing blasts. With a total area a little larger than that of Wales, the mountain-fenced land has a population of scarcely 100,000, divided into two sections by an abutment of the Hindu Kush thrust southward through the State, which formed the great obstacle to the march of the relieving column. At best, indeed, travel is perilous, as bridges are frail, fords treacherous, and paths, mere cornices on the sides of precipices, frequently overwhelmed or swept away by avalanches or snow-slides. Gay and superficially good-humoured, with engaging manners, and love of music and sports, the Chitralis are at once the pleasantest companions and the most treacherous dissemblers in the world. Parricide and fratricide, wholesale massacre, perfidy and intrigue, forming the staple of their annals, are, if successful, considered titles to applause, and the maxim that the end justifies the means is here accepted as the unquestionable rule of statesmanship. Cruelty and oppression have so demoralised the people, that the words vice and virtue, or truth and falsehood, have no meaning among them. The silent working of British influence will, no doubt, eventually introduce some moral standard into this outlying bastion of India, but the process will be a slow one.

The Nile Reservoir.—Sir William Garstin reports the Nile Reservoir works at Assuan and Assiut as having made considerable
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progress. Masonry is rising fast along the eastern end of the dam at the former place, and the foundations are everywhere carried down to the bed-rock, which is found at a greater depth below the surface than was anticipated. Foundations are also being dug in the island next the Mehemet Ali Channel, and here, too, the masonry will begin to show before long. The deep channel next the Bab-el-Kebir or "Great Gate," intended to be the scene of the principal work next season, is now closed by a dam formed of masses of stone weighing some two and a half tons each, bound together by steel wire. The work of excavation on the navigation and lock channels at the western end is also in progress, and should there be no failure in the supply of Portland cement from Europe, of which there seems to be some apprehension, a good deal of the masonry will be completed before the rise of the Nile in July. At Assiut the laying of the concrete foundation and erection of the masonry superstructure are also proceeding, and in both places work is carried on night and day by some 14,000 men constantly employed. The height of the river this year has exceeded that of 1898 by an average of three feet.

Scientific Expedition to Sokotra.—The island of Sokotra, lying about 600 miles south-east of Aden, has been the scene of scientific investigation by an expedition sent out jointly by the British Museum and the Liverpool Corporation. After some preliminary difficulties with the Sultan of Sokotra had been overcome, the party landed at Hadibu, the capital of the island, on December 7, 1898, and remained until the following February. The true Sokotrians are described in the report as partially civilised Mohammedans, living in very primitive conditions in caves or rude cyclopean huts, and possessing very few implements, ornaments, or weapons. Specimens were, however, procured of their pottery and basket work, their weaving apparatus, and their small quern-like mills, as well as two large blocks of stone inscribed with ancient characters, which, if deciphered, should throw some light on the early inhabitants, of whose cyclopean remains photographs have been secured. The 200 specimens of plants are not only of scientific interest, being unknown elsewhere, but also of high commercial value, and their cultivation in the Edinburgh Royal Botanic Gardens will be an interesting experiment. One or two species of rat, one species of civet cat, one of bat, and the wild ass, are the mammals represented in the specimens brought home, while of the 300 birds obtained seven are new, and eight unknown species are furnished by the collection of reptiles. Land shells, numbered by thousands, include eight new species, and an equally numerous collec-

tion of insects, not yet fully classified, will doubtless be equally rich in novel forms.

Cession of the Caroline Islands.—Spain has parted with the last remnant of her colonial empire in the East by the cession to Germany of the Caroline, Mariana, or Ladrone, and Pelew Islands, reserving to herself only a coaling station in each group which Germany is bound to defend in case of war. The Ladrone, discovered by Magellan in 1521, consist of seventeen large islands with numerous smaller ones, of which only five are inhabited. At first called Ladrone on account of the thievish propensities of their inhabitants, they were in 1668 re-named the Mariana Islands in honour of Maria Anne of Austria, widow of Philip IV. of Spain. Guam, the largest island, with a population of about 9000, was ceded to the United States last year. The total population, consisting of Spaniards, Chamorros, as the aborigines are called, and Caroline Islanders, has of late years greatly decreased. Some of the islands are fertile, producing rice, maize, cotton, sugar, tobacco, and indigo, but many are the seats of active volcanoes, and all are liable to earthquakes and typhoons. The more extensive Caroline group consists of 700 isles and islets mostly uninhabited, but comprising 48 of respectable dimensions. Five of these are of basalt on a coral foundation, the remainder are entirely coral. The total area is about 270 square miles and the population 22,000. With a temperate climate, and two rainy seasons, in January and August, the islands are rich in tropical products, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, oranges, cloves, and sugar, but the principal export is copra, or dried cocoa-nut, the trade in which is entirely in German hands. The inhabitants are of the Micronesian stock with an admixture of Papuans and Negritos, and some Japanese and Chinese immigrants. For administrative purposes, they are divided into two provinces, with Ponape as the eastern and Yap as the western capital. Some of the islands are encircled by an external reef enclosing a lagoon, affording smooth water for boating and fishing in almost all weather.

An aggregate area of 190 square miles, of which 116 are in Babeltoab, is assigned to the Pelew (Palaos or Palau) archipelago, comprising six inhabited islands, and several lesser ones. Situated in the Western Pacific, with a coral reef encircling the entire group, they form a mountainous group, in which water is abundant, and vegetation luxuriant like that of the Philippines. The climate is equable, and the chief exports are copra, sea-cucumbers, tortoise-shell, and mother-of-pearl. The inhabitants, numbering about 3000, are chiefly Malays.

Notices of Books.

Faith and Science. By HENRY F. BROWNSON. Detroit :
H. F. Brownson, 35 West Congress Street. Pp. 220.

THIS is in many respects an interesting and stimulating work ; but we cannot help thinking that many of its passages would have been omitted if it had passed through the hands of a careful censor before publication. Mr. Brownson complains that the youth who has passed through a Catholic college "has never been made or enabled to see that the natural and supernatural reciprocally demand each the other, and are in reality but two parts of one dialectic whole" (p. 26). He writes :

The religious education stops short with doctrines, and does not show the pupil by logical analysis that each doctrine of revelation, each proposition of faith, if you will, rests on a universal principle always and everywhere believed, and which cannot be denied without denying the reason common to all men, nor doubted without denying that doubt is doubt (pp. 26, 27).

We fancy that a censor would have called attention to these passages. There is a greater resemblance than we like to discover between the following passage of "Faith and Science" :

What we call necessary and absolute ideas, as the one, the universal, the eternal, the immutable, and the perfect, which certainly enters into every thought, and without which no thought is possible, are not abstractions, or abstract ideas, as psychologists call them, but necessary, universal, eternal, immutable, and perfect, being intuitively presented or apprehended (p. 46),

and the following proposition, which the Congregation of the Holy Office declared could not safely be taught : " *Universalia, a parte rei considerata, a Deo realiter non distinguuntur.*" When Mr. Brownson states that "that which is God is intuitively affirmed to us is maintained by St. Augustine, St. Thomas, Malebranche, Fénelon, Gerdil, Gioberti, and others" (p. 144), his statement is true as respects Malebranche, Gerdil, and Gioberti, but unfounded as respects the other writers mentioned. St. Thomas in very many passages of his works repudiates the doctrine here assigned to him, and, in addition, defends, by anticipation, St. Augustine from the misinterpretations of Ontologists.

Romance of the Lady Arbell. By ALASTOR GRAEME (Mrs. Frederick Townshend Marryat). London: F. V. White & Co., 14 Bedford Street, Strand.

THIS tale blends a certain amount of pictorial detail with the main historical facts of the chequered career of Arabella Stuart, guileless victim of two jealous sovereigns. The authoress delights in depicting her heroine with all the glamour and charm of her ill-starred race; learned, accomplished, witty, and fascinating; one who sports with her own perils, and trifles with the happiness of those who love her. The book shows that time and energy have been devoted to the study of the period, whatever may be in the eyes of historians the exact value of the portraiture. But we cannot help regretting that the writer has thought it necessary to cast the whole narrative into a cumbrous style of old English. She has thereby hampered her own pen, and run the inevitable risk of being strained and unnatural, and of bringing in words or expressions which betray entirely modern thought. For instance, we speak under correction, but did men talk of "brain-waves" (p. 186) in the days of the Stuarts? Sir Walter Scott has given us a wiser example in confining dialect to the conversations, and clothing the narrative in his own stately English.

We might also suggest that a few of the passages are unnecessarily realistic and somewhat unsavoury. It is undoubtedly difficult to write of muddy times and keep the pages quite clear, but it is more particularly desirable in historical romances, which are, or ought to be, dearly loved by the young fresh from their classes, and full of the scenes and personages to which the novelist gives new life. We trust that we shall have more tales of this class from the same pen, as this kind of literature has been but little touched by Catholic hands.

M. P.

St. John (Scripture Manuals for Catholic Schools). By Rev. JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1899. Pp. 168. Price 2s.

THIS short commentary is not only well adapted for the use of pupils in our secondary schools, but is very suggestive to all students of the New Testament. In a small compass every question arising is dealt with in a clear and scholarly manner. Father Rickaby has an original and incisive manner in bringing out his points. We were prepared to observe this gift by the perusal of the same writer's "Notes on Paul," which are intended for more advanced students:

it is delightful to find the same power exhibited successfully in the more elementary work.

Extensive use has been made of Bishop Westcott's commentary, but there occur quite a number of notes which show the author's critical insight and invest this manual with a character and value of its own.

We would specially instance the notes on the word "judgment" wherever it occurs; in v. 148-60, the doctrines of the Real Presence; on x. 16, "One fold and one Shepherd"; and on xx. 23, the forgiveness of sins. Of debated questions, whether we agree with the views expressed or not, we feel sure the author possesses a full knowledge and deals with them with the authority of learning. A two year's ministry is assumed. The brethren of our Lord are taken to be the children of Cleophas and Cleophas to be a brother of St. Joseph. The early patristic view that the Crucifixion took place before the Paschal Supper is clearly set forth in the notes on the *Pericope de Adultera*, viii. 1, and on the identification of Mary Magdalene, Mary the sister of Martha, and the sinful woman of Luke vii., are models of brevity and moderation. We do not quite fall in with the explanation of the Sixth Hour, xix. 14. Patrizi's view, that as the Greek symbols for 6 and 3 were so similar, a mistake of the copyists is the true solution seems simpler and more probable.

The printing and arrangement of the text and notes are very well done and helpful to the eye. We have noticed only two misprints—*entré*, p. 79, and *Annas* xviii. 3, p. 166. The questions at the end of each chapter are most useful to teacher and pupil alike. One of them is remarkable and likely to impress the answer on the memory: "What would you set down as the Gospel narrative of the miracles of St. John the Baptist?" The answer, we presume, would be (x. 41), "John indeed did *no* sign."

This excellent commentary will commend itself to every devout reader of the Gospel of St. John. It has the qualities of brevity and comprehensiveness united with scholarship and enlightened devotion in no common degree.

E. N.

Pastoral Psycatrie. A Manual for Priests in charge of Mentally-diseased Persons. Compiled by DR. J. FAMILLER, Priest at the Asylum at Prüll. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. Pp. x-180. 1898. Price (bound) 4s. "Ein Handbuch für die Seelsorge von Geisteskranken."

DR. FAMILLER'S work is a volume of Herder's "Theologische Bibliothek." It will be very useful for all priests in charge of souls and who are able to read German. The author has consulted some thirty-six authorities, chiefly medical specialists, who have written on the subject, and he gives us the result of his studies as well as his own experience. He deserves our thanks for his labours, for few priests have time and opportunity for making extensive studies on the subject, and yet every one must be prepared to meet occasionally with some kind or other of mental disease. We are not aware that there exists a similar work in English written specially for Catholic priests. If not, it would be very useful to have the present manual translated, perhaps in an abbreviated form.

For the use of the general reader, we shall make some extracts from this very instructive and practical book.

Mentally diseased persons are really ill—ill in their brain; there is something wrong in their head, as they themselves say, and therefore they ought to be treated as sick people. By the disease of some part of their brain they are hindered from the proper use of their mental faculties. People in this state, though they commit actions which for sound people would be vicious and immoral, are not to be considered as sinners or criminals. This unfortunate state may have been caused by a bad life; but as soon as people are out of their mind, they are no more responsible for their actions. Mental disease is in itself nothing disgraceful: it is a very great misfortune, but no crime. Members of the family who do not understand this truth sometimes wish to prevent necessary measures by saying that N. N. is not mad, but has *only* a fixed idea. They wish to put it more mildly, but this way of speaking sounds very serious to a specialist; if he finds out that it is the case, he will be frightened that it has gone so far, that the person has *already* got a fixed idea, and according to all probability is incurable. All people ought to know that imbecility may be caused by the drunkenness of parents, by opium or spirits given to children as sleeping draughts, by bad nourishment and bad air.

The word "asylum" is dreaded by most people, and therefore they avoid sending any one to it, even if it is proposed to them. Sometimes they are afraid of the expenses, frequently it is an unreasonable soft-heartedness (p. 98). It is true the asylum is not necessary for

all mentally diseased persons; yet only a few families can afford to find a substitute for it. As a rule such persons ought to be taken to the asylum in the very beginning; for the probability of a cure is the greater, the sooner the case is properly treated.

Asylums are not established merely to shut up raving people, but to restore and preserve the weakened faculties of the mind by curing the diseased organs in the body. Even, taking expenses into account, it is more prudent to send them, at once, for a few months, when the physician finds it necessary, than to wait until no cure is possible, when it would be necessary to send them for the rest of their lives.

If any one has to be sent, everything ought to be arranged beforehand without his knowledge; that the sick person should be told, kindly but firmly, that he has to undergo a medical treatment for his disease, and that every opposition or resistance on his part would be useless. To tell him long before might do great harm, even lead to suicide: on the contrary, to bring him to the asylum under false pretences would upset him, cause diffidence and hatred against the physician, and make his case more difficult. When taking leave of the sick man, his friends and relations ought to say a few encouraging and hopeful words; weeping and sentimentality would do harm.

If the disease is cured and the patient returns home, he ought to be treated like a man returning from a hospital, frankly and kindly, without any trace of surprise. He ought never to be reproached on account of his misfortune, nor even reminded of it. Most cases of relapse are caused by unreasonable and uncharitable treatment.

L. N.

The Structure of Life. By MRS. W. A. BURKE. With a Preface by Rev. WILLIAM BARRY, D.D. London & Leamington: Art and Book Company.

ONE consolation at the present day is that if we do not want to think, we have a multitude of kind friends, known and unknown, who are willing to think for us, and to give us ready-made solutions of all the difficulties, intellectual and moral, with which we may meet. Here is a little book which offers us an abundance of the soundest advice in a really moderate space; in an hour or two we can read through its pleasantly-worded directions for our conduct in almost all the ordinary circumstances of life. Alas! that the ordinary acting on them afterwards cannot be done for us likewise! We are told that "to make your character useful you must build it up and improve it"; that "illness is a trial which few can go through life

without being called upon to face"; that "ridicule should have no power to discourage us," and that "success will never be found to satisfy the human heart," and we must not "grieve if it be withheld." We remember seeing at an institute of domestic economy for the poor the following, framed and hung on the wall, "If you want to air a room open the window." The axioms of this excellent little book are almost as evident, and probably as much wanted; but, unfortunately, it is fairly easy to open the window in a London tenement-building even though the bolt may be broken and the frame rickety, but it is exceedingly hard to carry out in practical life these undeniable moral truths. Somehow it does not always happen, as in the Sunday story-books, and the bad little boys sometimes prosper, while the good little boys go to the wall. In our advisers we seem to look for a deeper sense of the difficulties they are inviting us to face, that sense of living realities which is, perhaps, one of the chief sources of what we call originality. But in saying all this we are, possibly, criticising the book from the standpoint of those for whom it was not intended. We quite believe the authoress, when she tells us in her introduction, that her last work—"The Value of Life"—was of help to some, and it is probable that this one will be as successful as its predecessor. The writer has a special facility for weaving quotations, of which the book is chiefly composed, into a consistent whole; and her practical application of principles to the chief events of life will be a help to many who have neither time nor leisure to study such questions themselves. Homes are not so closely knit as they were, and much has now to be learned from outside sources which was formerly inculcated at the family hearth. Dr. Barry gives us an interesting preface, in which he sums up the philosophy of sin in a sentence from Sophocles, the cry of Jucasta, "Let us live at random." Certainly, if this little volume can persuade a few of the necessity of a certain discipline of mind and character, whether applied to themselves or to those under them, it will have done a valuable work. The book is very well got up, and the type excellent.

Ceremonial for Servers. Part I.—Low Mass.

Art and Book Company. Price 6d.

THE Art and Book Company have done a great service in bringing out this very useful, and on the whole very accurate, booklet.

There are terms used in it that denote some connection with the "Establishment," such as "north and south side of the altar," which

are not now used by Catholic Liturgists. The word "charts" for altar-cards is Hibernian.

At page 3 (II.) the author quotes a decree to show he is right in prescribing the candle on the Gospel side to be lit first, and that on the Epistle side afterwards. This decree, which has many questions and answers, has been used in other points by some of the best modern writers. It is found in Falise's "Collectio Authentica," published in 1862, but unfortunately it forms no part in the official edition.

A new and revised edition of the Decrees S.R.C. was issued last year, and so far has only reached the second volume, which ends on December 10, 1870; and yet the famous *In Lucionen*, August 12, 1854, is not inserted. All decrees that are not found in this edition are either not genuine or only personal, and therefore not to be adduced as proofs of universal practice or custom.

"The Missal," says the author at page 7, "should not be placed upon the altar before Mass, as is often done; this is a corrupt English use, and runs directly counter to the express words of the rubric." Let us quote the wording of the Missal: ". . . ministro cum Missali, et aliis ad celebrandum necessariis (nisi ante fuerint præparata) præcedente, superpelliceum induto." Clearly this applies to the Missal cruets, &c. Consequently De Herdt maintains that the view opposed to the author's may be followed. Lerosey, in his "Manuel Liturgique, Cérémonial Romain" (Paris 1890), is still more emphatic. I will, therefore, cite his *ipsissima verba*:

Le servant peut porter d'avance le missel sur l'autel. La rubrique sur ce point paraît être moins exigeante que certains auteurs qui le font porter lorsque le prêtre se rend à l'autel (part ii. tit. 2), "Ministro cum Missali et aliis ad celebrandum necessariis (nisi ante fuerint præparata) præcedente." Le servant peut aussi laisser le missel sur l'autel, après la messe, et retourner le prendre ensuite (page 210).

Thus, in addition to a corrupt English use, we have a Belgian and a French use. If the author paid a little attention to the "express words of the rubric," he would tell the server in the beginning of Mass not to kneel on a parallel line to the celebrant, or, to quote the words of the Missal: "Minister retro post eum ad sinistram genuflexus," a practice followed in churches where the rubrics are properly observed. Moreover, "the express words of the rubric" prescribe the extinction of the candles before leaving the altar: "6. Quibus omnibus absolutis extinguntur per ministrum candelæ: interim sacerdos accipit, &c." Here there is no mention of removing the Missal. With these few emendations this booklet deserves to be widely circulated.

R. C.

Conferences given by Father Dignam, of the Society of Jesus, with Retreats, Sermons, and Notes of Spiritual Direction. With a Preface by His Eminence CARDINAL MAZZELLA, S.J. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

FROM Cardinal Mazzella's preface we may gather both the purpose and the character of this book. It is not, and is not meant to be, a complete and systematic treatise on the spiritual life, nor does it even profess to be a full reproduction of meditations, conferences, instructions, given by Father Dignam. It is a book of "recollections," a gathering together, by different persons, of thoughts that particularly struck them during Father Dignam's "Retreats." It is published as a sequel to "A Memoir of Father Dignam, S.J.," and "Retreats given by Father Dignam, S.J.," and, like these two works, it is "a tribute of gratitude and love, from the 'Poor Servants of the Mother of God,' to the memory of a zealous religious priest, whose spiritual advice they held in the highest esteem."

There are four sections in the book: the first contains several short retreats given to different classes of lay people; the second consists of a number of conferences to nuns, and of course forms the main body of the work; the third consists of notes of spiritual direction and letters; and the fourth is a collection of sermons and instructions on various subjects.

From this it will be inferred that the book covers a great deal of ground, and in concise fashion treats of many truths of the spiritual life. But its great charm is that we get the old truths searchingly applied to us through the medium of an original and lovable personality. Moreover, the method in which the book has been compiled gives us not so much the written word as the spoken, with the natural vividness that the spoken word alone can give.

J. H.

Commentary of Cornelius à Lapidè. First Corinthians.
Translated by W. F. COBB, D.D. London: John Hodges.

EVIDENTLY the voluminous Commentary of Cornelius à Lapidè has become popular in the present century. No less than six editions issued from the press between the years 1840 and 1858, three being printed in Paris. The appearance of the present work is a further proof of the same fact. Perhaps it would have been better had Dr. Cobb, having undertaken to bring out an English

version of Cornelius, carried out the work more thoroughly. What we mean is had he decided not "to shorten a little its terrible prolixity," but, having gone so far, to give English readers a genuine English version of the great commentator's work. It seems to me that it would have been better if, having gone so far, the author had proceeded, as they say, to the bitter end, so that the reader might feel that the book before him was Cornelius and the whole Cornelius.

The work of Cornelius cannot be said to be of uniform value, varying much according to the writers upon whom the Commentary is based. Perhaps the most valuable part of the work is that upon St. Paul's Epistles, and therefore doubtless the volume before us will be of interest to many readers.

The weakest part of the great Scripture scholar's work is the treatment of the literal sense. On the other hand, much attention is given to the tropological and metaphorical sense; and the Commentary will be found to be a storehouse of patristic quotation.

Dr. Cobb writes in a plain and simple style, so that there is no difficulty in arriving at his meaning. The volume is well brought out in clear type, and will no doubt be a useful book in many libraries.

J. A. H.

The Saints: III. St. Clotilda. By GEOFFROY KURTH, Professor at the University of Liège. **IV. St. Vincent de Paul.** By Prince EMMANUEL DE BROGLIE. From the French. With Prefaces by the Rev. G. TYRRELL, S.J. (Duckworth & Co.) 3s. each volume.

MESSRS. DUCKWORTH are to be congratulated on their enterprise in giving us these charming volumes, which in their neat liveries of red and gold seem to be worth a far higher price than the very moderate one asked for them.

Lives of the Saints like these, written by distinguished and competent hands, conspicuously free from the trivialities and wearisome moralising which disfigures so many works of the class, and put in the reach of all by their moderate price, cannot fail to be welcomed by Catholics, and will doubtless find hosts of readers outside the fold of the Church.

Professor Kurth's name is well known throughout Europe as that of a conscientious and scientific historian. His "Life of Clovis" has already shown his intimate knowledge of the intricate and depressing period of history in which St. Clotilda moves as a bright planet amid

the darkness, and he has succeeded in presenting us with a touching picture of the Christian Queen of the Franks to whose prayers Clovis and the French nation owed the light of faith and the grace of baptism. He has stripped the history of certain picturesque but unworthy legends, which showed St. Clotilda as a revengeful foe rather than as a meek Christian sufferer, and has thus vindicated the Saint's fame, though at the cost of leaving her personality rather vague and colourless.

The Prince de Broglie has a far more attractive subject in St. Vincent de Paul, and his literary skill has been well employed on so worthy a subject. There is nothing new, indeed, in the account he gives us of St. Vincent's life, but such a life cannot be too often retold; and this, brief sketch though it be, is not the least attractive of the Saint's biographies. But what a time it was that he lived in! All St. Vincent could do with his great influence over the Queen-Regent and her "Council of Conscience" (which aided her in the disposal of benefices) was to induce them

to pass the resolution that under no circumstances should children be appointed to episcopal Sees. Ten years old was to be the minimum age for obtaining an abbey, sixteen a priory or canonship in a cathedral, and fourteen in a collegiate church. Before becoming a bishop, at least a year's priesthood would be necessary.

It is strange, too, to reflect that St. Vincent had the education of the future Cardinal de Retz, that dissipated and worldly prelate whose intrigues as Coadjutor of the Archbishop of Paris brought so much misery on his country. He had been made to embrace holy orders without the slightest signs of vocation, merely that he might succeed to the Archbishopric of Paris, which was looked on as a family benefice. And yet both M. and Mme. de Gondi, his parents, were pious and God-fearing people.

The Prince de Broglie is inclined to accept as authentic the beautiful story of the change of places made by St. Vincent with a galley-slave, even though it has been rejected as impossible by many of the most ardent admirers of the Saint. There seems every likelihood that the story is true, and the strongest proof of all is that St. Vincent did not contradict it when he was once asked point-blank if it were a fact, but contented himself with smiling, which was as much as to admit its truth.

Parts of the story of St. Vincent read like a romance (for instance, the account of his captivity among the Turks), but it is at once more elevating and more interesting than any romance ever penned.

Father Tyrrell contributes a short and practical Preface to each volume.

Historic Nuns. By BESSIE R. BELLOC. London:
Duckworth & Co. 1898.

MME. BELLOC has given us a delightful volume, although the title may be objected to as somewhat magniloquent and misleading. The nuns whose lives (or rather works) she tells are not, as one might suppose, historic figures such as the venerable Madame Louise de France, or the learned Abbess Hroswitha, nor are they strictly speaking nuns, but pious ladies who in our own times have founded or propagated in new countries congregations of religious women devoted to active works of mercy.

The first two of these found their life's work in Ireland. The third was a Frenchwoman who introduced the Institute of the Dames du Sacré Cœur in America. The fourth was the foundress of the American Sisters of Charity. Of these figures, all of them beautiful and venerable, Mme. Belloc devotes the greatest part of her space to Mary Aikenhead, foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity. She has taken her materials from "the admirable and exhaustive biography by Mrs. Atkinson, S.A." (to whom, indeed, she is never weary of expressing her obligations), and the result has been a very vivid and feeling sketch of a life remarkable for its spiritual beauty.

But Mme. Belloc, as we have already hinted, is more concerned with the work than the individual. She has somewhat suffered from the defects almost inseparable from the conditions of her work, and has apparently written hastily, without giving sufficient time to revision. Thus the style is often slipshod, and there are constant repetitions, which are occasionally irritating. For instance, we should not like to say how many times she tells us that the Sisters of Charity have now six houses in Cork. We are somewhat inclined to think the frequent personal reminiscences which are conspicuous in this first life rather detract from the homogeneity and the historical character of the sketch, even though they may sometimes add to its interest. Again, there are numerous little defects which a more careful revision would have eliminated. Is it usual in Ireland to speak of the "Williamite wars," or say that the top storey of a hospital "enjoys the great space of Stephen's Green"? But these are trivial blots on a very useful piece of work.

We may quote a few lines from a letter of Mrs. Aikenhead's, which will serve to show her spirit. She is writing to "a new Superior frightened at her responsibilities":

In the name of Him who has called us to honour Him, take up the spiritual armour spoken of by St. Paul, and proclaim against the enemies you have renounced in baptism—the devil, the world, and the flesh—

that you will fight the battle stoutly. The flesh is our own *self-love*; the world, in our regard as religious, is, for the most part, *human respect*; and the hoof of the wicked one, the tail of the serpent, will ever be discovered by the lowly-minded who petition with the Church for a right understanding.

The life of Mrs. McAulay is somewhat disappointing; we see much less of her than we do of her contemporary. But there is a charming little account of the labours of her daughters in the Crimea, and the triumphant procession on their return, when the Sisters walked at the head of the Guards through the streets of London, and a threatened hostile demonstration nearly resulted in the troops firing upon the populace in defence of their beloved nurses. Happily all ended well, and "from that day Sisters of Mercy can walk through London, not only unmolested, but respected."

The present reviewer will never forget the impression left on his mind by the perusal of the French life of Philippine Duchesne, the lion-hearted woman who underwent every sort of privation and suffering to plant her institute in the New World.

Mme. Belloc has succeeded in giving us a very pleasant little sketch of this wonderful life. We are glad she has not omitted the scene when this apostolic woman, after thirty-five years of prayer and longing, was allowed at last to go to the Indians whose conversion she had so deeply at heart. The ludicrous and the pathetic are intermingled in the scene when the heroic old nun was embraced in sign of welcome by all the women of the tribe, married and unmarried, and then had to shake hands with all the men—some seven hundred in number!

The end of her life is very pathetic, for God seems to have tried her heroic soul up to the very last with sorrow upon sorrow. But this, as He once told St. Teresa, is the way in which He loves to treat His friends.

The book concludes with a sketch of Mother Seton (which tells one very little of her work), and a most fascinating "postscript" describing the adventures of the Sisters of Mercy in California. This is, perhaps, the most interesting, as it is certainly the most original, part of the book.

R. B.

Le XIII. Centenaire du Sacre de St. Augustin, Apôtre de l'Angleterre dans la Basilique Primatiale d'Arles. Par M. BERNARD, Achiprêtre d'Arles. Arles: Imprimerie Jouve. 1898.

THIS interesting little *brochure* is a welcome souvenir of the never-to-be-forgotten celebrations of the centenary of St. Augustine. Its frontispiece is an excellent portrait of Cardinal Vaughan, to whom the work is dedicated.

Those who were present at Ebbsfleet will recall the austere but sympathetic figure of the Archpriest (alas! that one cannot write Archbishop) of Arles, whose presence on the platform at Ramsgate and in the procession at Ebbsfleet formed one of the most striking links that bound the present to the past on that most memorable festival. We have all read in the *Tablet* the picturesque details of the celebrations at Arles, where so many distinguished members of the French Episcopate united with our prelates in celebrating the memory of St. Augustine's consecration by St. Virgilius, and it will be a pleasure to many to possess this permanent record of the centenary. May the Saints of Arles and Canterbury unite the countries they love in a strong and lasting union both of faith and concord! At a period when our political relations are "strained," it is well to recall the happy intercourse of Arles and Ramsgate.

H.

Cyril Westward: The Story of a Grave Decision. By HENRY PATRICK RUSSELL, late Vicar of St. Stephen's, Devonport. Art and Book Company.

WE have been exceedingly pleased with "Cyril Westward," though undoubtedly it cannot be recommended to those who dislike a story with a purpose. The purpose is sometimes a good deal too big for the story, and yet we would not willingly spare a line of the controversy with which its pages are so plentifully laden. We cannot imagine a better book to give to a High Church parson who has begun to have doubts as to the validity of his position. Some parsons have lost the habit of serious study (if, indeed, they ever had it), and would shrink from grappling with a treatise of dogmatic theology.

But "Cyril Westward" is as easy (and a good deal pleasanter) to read as the columns of the *Church Times*, and though there is a good deal of theology in it, as we have already hinted, the pill is gilded

cunningly. It affords too the fascinating recreation of identifying the various types of parsons who appear in its pages, of speculating who is meant by Mr. Erastian, and settling who of one's acquaintance has been sketched to the life in the dogmatic Mr. Gandful.

The sketches of parsonic life and character are very realistic, and while they are sometimes caustic, are never unkind. Mr. Russell has an observing eye and a ready pen. The present writer can testify to the truth of his portraiture and the accuracy of his observation.

What an admirable description we have here of the "restoration" of Angleside Church:

The waggon roof with its richly carved bosses in oak was removed, and the rafters above it gave way to pitch-pine and plaster; while to give the appearance of still greater height to the building the floors were lowered some eighteen inches, and the rough bases of the granite pillars laid bare. In place of the oak benches with richly carved ends, some of which at a former alteration had been removed for the sake of big pews, pitch-pine seats were introduced, studded at their backs and sides with the heads of the pegs that held them together, rounded into shape, and presenting the appearance of pimples on the wood. The walls, denuded of their plaster, originally frescoed, were bared to the stone. In place of the Perpendicular east window, an attempt at decorated tracery was made, of staring and hideous design. The screen, whose rood had long ago disappeared, was removed at a former "restoration," and the doorways of the little turret of steps that led originally to the top of the rood (*sic*) were at the last "restoration" fitted with pine boards, securely cemented so as to shut off all access from the church. The chancel was choked with stalls and desks for the accommodation of a surpliced choir, &c.

This fearful description of the ravages of the modern "restorer" is no exaggerated caricature, as any one who knows our old country parish churches can testify. The atrocities of pitch-pine and naked walls of rubble are still the *beau-idéal* of the Philistine, and the Philistine is still rampant in the land. Nor, alas! are Catholics altogether emancipated from his pernicious influence; on the contrary, we too often seem to have set ourselves to imitate in our new buildings some of the worst features of the Victorian art of "judicious restoration."

The book before us is, however, concerned with weightier matters than those of architecture. There is hardly a modern High Church objection to the Catholic position which is not met with admirable clearness and precision in these pages. The conversion of Mr. Selsing forms a really pathetic picture, and one can see that it is drawn from life. Some unpublished letters of Cardinal Newman, and frequent allusions to his sermons and lectures, show what is the predominant influence that has drawn the writer into the Church, as it has so many before him.

We are inclined to think that the introduction of the ghost is a mistake in a book dealing with such solemn truths, though even here the episode may be taken from life.

In conclusion, we must strongly urge our readers to provide themselves each with two copies of this admirable work, so that they may have always one at hand to lend to an inquiring friend. This is not the first book of its kind, but of all those that have appeared of late years, we remember none so useful and so excellent in all respects.

D. B. C.

La Persécution des Catholiques en Angleterre: un Complot sous Charles II. Par la Ctesse. R. DE COURSON. Paris: Firmin-Didot.

THE Comtesse de Courson has already distinguished herself in the field of English Catholic history, and her "Quatre Portraits de Femmes" has won favourable attention in the Press of both her native and her adopted countries. We rejoice to see that she is continuing the excellent work of making French readers acquainted with our glorious martyrs. This volume deals with the Oates plot. It is based on the best authorities, and large use is made of the bulky volume which Br. Foley devoted to the plot in his invaluable series of "Records." There is not, of course, much that is new to the English reader, nothing perhaps to the student of the period; but we cannot recall at the moment any volume in our language which is devoted to the Catholic victims of this infamous plot, except, of course, the learned and costly collection already alluded to. It will thus fill a gap, and form a worthy addition to our martyr literature. Mme. de Courson writes exceedingly well, and the tragic story she has to unfold enchains the reader from the first. How strange, how almost incredible, are some of its episodes!

Imagine, for instance, the Catholic Queen hanging on the walls of her apartment the portraits of the Jesuit martyrs whom her husband had sent to the gibbet, and that monarch entering the room and going to kiss the pictures of his victims, acknowledging that they were innocent, and asking their pardon! The conversion of Charles II. was one of those miracles of grace which we can only attribute to the prayers of those whose innocent blood he shed. He well knew that the martyrs were innocent, but with almost incredible baseness he suffered them to die to save himself trouble. During half his life he stifled the voice of conscience, and tried to drown the conviction that there was but one faith in which he could be saved; and yet, in spite

of his vices and his bad faith, he obtained mercy at the last. The mercy of God is indeed infinite, and no story brings it out more forcibly than this. No story, too, shows us more clearly the depths of folly and madness to which bigotry can lead a people usually remarkable for its common sense, or the depths of villainy to which religious prejudice can lead men otherwise honest and sincere.

Fortunately our country seems to have learned the lesson, and we may confidently hope that it will never go mad again with anti-Catholic fanaticism. We note with pleasure that this work has been crowned by the French Academy.

The Course of Conscience. Being a short inquiry as to the transmission of Revelation. By H. J. PYE. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. Pp. 192.

IT has happened to Mr. Pye, as it has happened to many others, to take part in friendly discussions on the subject of religion. It became clear to him that his part in these discussions would be a more satisfactory one if he prepared himself for the amicable encounters by a little thought and study. That thought and study he gave to the good work. It seemed to him that what was likely to be useful to himself might be useful also to others. Hence the origin of the present volume, which deals, if not learnedly and exhaustively, at least plainly and accurately, with such important topics as Conscience, Religion, Revelation, Transmission of Revelation, Church Organisation, Papal Supremacy, Ecclesiastical Teaching, &c. &c. We think that the "Course of Conscience" will prove of use to Catholic readers, as well as to inquirers who are still outside the Church.

Life of the Venerable Servant of God, Julie Billiart.

Edited by Fr. CLARE, S.J. Art & Book Co. 1898.

THE growing interest in primary and intermediary education and in the training of teachers, both so largely supplied for Catholics by the Sisters of Notre Dame, will secure a welcome for this life of their foundress. Mère Julie, it would seem, was a born teacher with the gift of imparting knowledge apart from its subject-matter. At seven years old she taught her schoolfellows the Catechism. Probably neither her attainments nor her interests ever went much

beyond religious knowledge. But the Catechism in her hands became a manual of "Paedagogics" which enabled her to turn out unrivalled teachers. She impressed on the Institute an aptitude for teaching which has been transmitted.

Mère Julie attached great importance to the formation of the Sisters destined for the school, especially in all that concerned the teaching of religion. In their case she did not scruple to shorten the time allotted to prayer that they might have more to devote to their essential study. In her presence and under her supervision they became by turns teachers or pupils, repeating to each other her own inimitable lessons in Christian doctrine or Scripture history.

One would be glad to know more fully the details of her method: but perhaps this is the sum of the tradition. No doubt she exercised a strong personal influence which, as seems the privilege of founders of orders, enjoys an immortality.

Her daughters began with very poor children. Free instruction, as with the Jesuits, was a feature of their work. The children were to be trained primarily in religious knowledge. The original scope of the Institute has been enlarged in deference to demands justified by the insight into the principles of teaching which its first simple elements yielded. The foundation started under unpromising conditions. Mère Julie was well past middle life when she met in October 1794 Mlle. Blin de Bourdon, who was destined to bear so much of the burden of the first years of the Institute, and to succeed Mère Julie as second Superior-General. The Institute did not get a settlement till ten years later in 1804. On Candlemas Day its first three subjects received Holy Communion from Fr. Varin's hands, and added to their earlier Vow of Chastity one to devote themselves to the Christian education of girls and teachers. In this year Mère Julie recovered the use of her limbs after a crippling paralysis of more than twenty years' standing. Then during a short twelve years—she died in 1815—the Institute was built up.

The period of her long preparation, whilst the idea of the Institute was maturing in her mind, fell during the turmoil of the Revolution. A helpless cripple, an object of suspicion deepening into hatred as *la dévote*, and as resolutely holding aloof from the schismatical state-clergy, she was forced to fly from refuge to refuge. From Cuvilly she went to Compiègne, from Compiègne she was invited to Amiens, from Amiens she retired to Bettencourt. Her creative work was done under the Empire, interrupted and harassed sometimes by vexatious "administrative" interference, very unintelligible to English notions. But her chief and heavy troubles came from that "warfare of ideas" out of which new and fruitful schemes are born.

The painful story of friction and misunderstanding is told with becoming moderation.

The Institute began under episcopal sanction on clearly conceived principles which Mère Julie regarded as essential to its life. Fr. Varin, S.J. (then a Father of the Faith), gave the impulse which started the Institutes of Notre Dame and of the Sacré Cœur. No doubt by both communities features of the Jesuit ideal were caught and transferred; but they were taken up by the foundress of Notre Dame in an independent way, to fill a definite and distinctive place in her creation. Now a M. de Sambucy, left by Fr. Varin as Confessor to the Sisters at Amiens, desired to modify the Institute on grounds of abstract fitness. The nuns were to set up a fanciful continuity with an extinct order of the same title. He disliked especially the centralisation and diffusion of the Institute. He wished to have no Superior-General and no extension beyond the Diocese of Amiens. Whatever might be said on antiquarian grounds for these changes, the verdict of facts was against them. The houses abandoned to M. de Sambucy to regulate according to his views had neither vitality nor permanence, and the net result of his interference was the loss of the Institute to the diocese and its transference to Namur. It seems difficult altogether to acquit him of straining his influence over the Bishop of Amiens beyond the limits of a zeal for precedent. Once, however, Mère Julie's leading ideas had been vindicated, the progress of the Institute was rapid and subject to no more than the common trials of a growing body. She lived to see its continued existence assured on the lines which she had laid down.

There are many points of interest in the book which we might dwell on. For instance, the connection and difference between the two Institutes, the Sisters of Notre Dame and the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, which were born, as it were, side by side; the singular feature of division of work without distinction of status into choir and lay sisters; or, again, the "family devotion to the Sacred Heart" which Mère Julie transferred to her society. But perhaps enough has been said to show the character and interest of the book; and, on the whole, one need make no abatement from general praise.

N.

A Manual of Psychology. Volume I. By G. F. STOUT, M.A.
London: W. B. Clive, 13 Booksellers Row, Strand, W.C. 1898.
Pp. 240.

THERE are some extremely interesting and informing chapters in this book, notably the chapters on "Light-Sensation," "Sound-Sensation," and "Other Sensations." The chapter on "Body and Mind" is, however, not so satisfactory. Clearness is a characteristic of Mr. Stout's writings, but we do not find that clearness here. "This is not an easy subject," says Mr. Stout, at the very outset of the chapter in question; "the student is recommended to do his best to understand this chapter on the first reading, but should certainly make a point of returning to it after having read the book through." We have read the chapter carefully more than once, but we fail to understand the view of Mr. Stout as to the relations of body and soul, or, as he would say, body and mind. But in any case Mr. Stout is no materialist:

The doctrine of *materialism* [writes Mr. Stout], as it is called, seems incapable of any precise statement; whatever plausibility it possesses arises from the use, or rather from the misuse, of the word *function*. Digestion is a function of the alimentary canal; breathing is a function of the lungs; why cannot we simply affirm that consciousness is a function of the brain? The objection is that we do not make two things the same by applying the same word to them, when in their own nature they are radically and essentially different. When we say that digestion is a function of the stomach, we mean that digestion is the stomach engaged in digesting. When we say that breathing is the function of the lungs, we mean that breathing is the lungs at work. In describing the process of digestion, we, *ipso facto*, describe the stomach itself as engaged in the process. In describing the process of breathing, we, *ipso facto*, describe the lungs as filling themselves with air by a certain movement, and expelling it by an alternate movement. But if we describe the brain at work, there is no need to mention consciousness at all; and in naming and describing conscious processes, there is no need to mention the brain" (p. 49).

On the whole we regard the "Manual of Psychology" as a very useful work.

The Post-Apostolic Age. By LUCIUS WATERMAN, D.D., with an Introduction by the Bishop of New York. (Eras of the Christian Church.) Edinburgh: T. Clark. Pp. 505. Price 6s.

DR. WATERMAN'S work is of very unequal merit. Where he deals with the opponents of monarchical episcopacy, he gives a very good summary of the arguments in favour of the Catholic teach-

ing on the subject up to a certain point. The argument from Eusebius (p. 86-89) is very well stated; the deductions in favour of democratic Christianity drawn by so many Nonconformists from the mentions of "prophets" in the Apostolic age are well met (p. 90). His exposure of M. Réville's main arguments against the existence of the three orders of the Christian ministry in the earliest times is also good, "Neither at Tyre nor at Ptolemais," says M. Réville, "is there the least trace of any ecclesiastical organisation whatever." "Precisely so," replies Dr. Waterman. "All that we hear of Tyre as a Christian centre is contained in three verses of Acts xxi., and all that we learn of Ptolemais in that character is contained in one verse more of that chapter" (p. 79). All this part of the book exhibits considerable care, though the references might with advantage be more abundant. But when we come to Dr. Waterman's arguments against the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff in the Post-Apostolic age, both his care and his logic suddenly desert him. Like most Anglicans nowadays, he traces the Petrine prerogatives to the Clementine Romance, and hazards the statement that "the utterly fictitious story of St. Clement's relations to St. Peter and St. James *got universal acceptance* in the Church as genuine history" (p. 195), for which he gives not a vestige of proof. But Dr. Waterman's treatment of the Paschal controversy in St. Victor's time will best show how far he is to be trusted for his facts, and how far he is up to date in the literature of the subject. He states that the practice of keeping Easter on Sunday "must, to all appearance, have grown up out of the independent common-sense of some of the Churches of the West against an absolutely universal tradition based on a unanimous Apostolic consent" (p. 211). Now this is all purely gratuitous assumption. The Paschal usage of Rome was practically universal in the end of the second century, the Churches of the province of Asia (not what we now understand by Asia) alone excepted. These Churches claimed the patronage of St. John the Evangelist and St. Philip, but they did not claim any of the other Apostles as on their side, whilst it is inconceivable that Rome was going against the prescriptions of SS. Peter and Paul. At any rate there is no historical ground for saying so, and there is every reason for each prescription having been made a foremost reason on the side of the Asiatics if it had been possible to prove it. Again, Dr. Waterman's account of the effect of St. Victor's action is grievously misleading. He says that "as regards what Victor was aiming at, it was simply *nil*. The province of Asia did not change its paschal use one hair's breadth till the Council of Nicæa, 130 years later" (p. 218). So far is this from the truth that, as Duchesne has shown, those amongst the Asiatics who

after Victor's time clung to the old Asiatic usage were a little schismatic sect, and not the legitimate episcopate ("Eglises Séparées," p. 144). And Sohm, a non-Catholic writer, says of these Churches of "Hither Asia Minor,"

In the third century there is nothing more to be seen of them. It is as though the Churches of Western Asia Minor were during that period non-existent. It was only after the Council of Nicæa that they came back into the body of the Church; and why all this? Because the Churches of Hither Asia were through Rome excluded from the communion of the Church (*Kirchenrecht*, p. 283, quoted by Fr. Ryder, *Amer. Eccl. Rev.* January 1898).

In regard to the whole subject, Dr. Waterman does not recognise the difference between the circumstances under which Anicetus and St. Victor had to act. In fact, his account is altogether unsatisfactory from a scholarship point of view. The same may be said of his account of the Cyprianic controversy. He says the translation of *literæ quibus abstineto Marciano alius in loco ejus substituatur* as "letters whereby Marcian, being excommunicated, another may," &c., "make it look altogether too much as if the Bishop of Rome could do all these things himself." He therefore calmly translates "quibus" "in accordance with which" (p. 402)! He traces the doctrine of the Logos in St. John too exclusively to Philo's writings, instead of to the Jewish tradition on the subject, long anterior to Philo. He asserts that "converts to Rome are almost invariably rebaptized, at least conditionally" (p. 405), a confusion of language which we should hardly have expected in a writer whom the Protestant Archbishop of New York introduces to the public as taking part in "the emancipation of scholarship from the domination of mere ecclesiasticism" (Pref. p. vi.).

The ecclesiasticism here spoken of seems to include that of the second century, and even that of St. Ignatius of Antioch, for Dr. Waterman says of St. Ignatius' insistence on Episcopacy as necessary to a Church, "One may guess that if Ignatius could have foreseen how the history of the Church would unfold itself in these later days, he would not have spoken quite so strongly" (p. 103).

L. R.

Le Révé. Dr. SURBLED. Paris: Douniol. Pp. 144.

DR. SURBLED has added another to the number of the treatises he has given to the world on the physiological aspects of psychology. After "Le Cerveau," "Le Sommeil," "L'Imagination,"

"Unité ou dualité cérébrale," we might naturally have expected "Le Rêve."

In the book before us he endeavours to explain the nature of dreams, their physiology, frequency, and rapidity. He deals also with the origin of dreams, and with the action of the different senses and of ideas in their production or modification. Still he is very far from believing that he has solved the riddles of sleep and dreaming.

"La physiologie du *sommeil* est à peine ébauchée et encore bien obscure" (p. 38).

"De tous les phénomènes psycho-physiologiques, le *rêve* est peut-être le plus instable, le moins important, mais c'est à coup sûr le plus obscur, celui qui déconcerte le plus les chercheurs" (p. 3).

The main features of the treatment, as distinct from the general division of the subject in the separate chapters, are chiefly contrasts: dreams and sleep, dreams and dozing (*assoupissement*), dreams, nightmare, and hallucination, dreams and external sensations, the physiology of dreams and of wakefulness.

Dr. Surbled seems to have been particularly happy in his own dreams:

De tous les états que traverse l'homme au cours de sa vie mortelle, aucun n'est plus constant, plus impérieux, ni plus agréablement ressenti que le *rêve*: c'est la riante oasis dans le désert, c'est la halte bénie dans la marche vers l'éternité. . . . (p. 1).

The main thesis of the book is the supremacy of the imagination in the dreamer.

"L'Imagination préside aux songes: c'est elle qui garde le rôle capital, essentiel, dans leur formation et leur élaboration" (p. 63).

To some the author might appear to minimise the action of the external senses upon the production of the dream. His object is undoubtedly to show that external sensation is insufficient of itself to produce the dream. He maintains that we are unable "à les expliquer par le simple jeu de la sensibilité externe." He accords to the external senses a collateral and accidental action "nous admettons qu'elle (*i.e.*, external sensation) peut exceptionnellement intervenir dans le songe, en dévier le cours, en modifier le caractère." In this sense he admits that touch and hearing have a certain influence upon the course or the subject of the dream. But he contests the relevance or scientific value of the examples cited in support of the opinion that taste, smell, sight, and the muscular sense are capable of modifying the course of a dream. Finally, while granting that the condition of the general health of the body has much to do with the character of our dreams, he contends that it is the abnormal or

pathological, not the normal condition of the body, that gives rise to the state of dreaming.

We commend to the reader's consideration the curious theory propounded in explanation of the not uncommon dream, in which a long series of events ends naturally in some circumstance which is evidently produced by an external sensation, as a prick, the sound of a bell, or of a falling object (p. 72).

The chapter on the physiology of dreams deserves the most careful study. The theory adopted by the writer is briefly this: Sleep is accompanied by an anæmic condition of the surface of the brain, wakefulness by its congestion. Conversely, in profound sleep the internal organs are congested, in wakefulness they are anæmic. The passage of the blood from one system to the other constitutes the condition of partial sleep in which the sleeper dreams (pp. 38-48). A curious instance of the association of words in a dream is given at p. 129:

Maury rêve encore de *kilomètres*; il se trouve sur une route, puis sur les plateaux d'une balance, chez un épicier qui prenait son poids au moyen de *kilos*. Cet épicier lui dit qu'ils n'étaient pas à Paris, mais dans l'île *Gilolo*; puis il arriva successivement à voir la fleur *lobélia*, le général *Lopez*; dont il avait lu, quelque temps avant, la déplorable fin à Cuba, et se réveille finalement en faisant une partie de *loto*.

La racine *lo* est ici le lien des différentes images visuelles (*kilos*, *Gilolo*, *Lopez*, *loto*).

No serious student of psychology can afford to ignore the views and discussions contained in this little book.

H. P.

Catholic Truth Society's Publications.

"The Real Presence," by the Right Rev. Bishop Hedley. 1899. (Price 1d.) In this reprint of a Pastoral Letter the reader will find the grave wisdom, the graceful diction, and the practical theology of the learned Bishop of Newport. May this booklet lead many to a higher esteem of that Presence "silent as inspiration, secret as divine grace, serene as a ray of heavenly light"!

"The Immaculate Conception," by the Very Rev. Canon Bagshawe. 1899. (Price 1d.) This beautiful and lucid sermon on Our Lady's high prerogative was preached to the Confraternity of the Children of Mary at the Church of Our Lady of Grace and St. Edward, Chiswick, December 11, 1898. It is in every way worthy of the author, and will provide the Rev. Directors and the Presidents of E. de M. Sodalitys with solid matter for their instructions.

"The Holy Gospel according to St. Luke." Pp. 88. (Price 2d.) This pamphlet is printed in clear type and on good paper, but for what purpose is not evident, seeing the whole of the New Testament can be had for sixpence. There is no paragraphing, the chapters are never relieved by a break. An allusion is made to notes. These number thirteen, a poor allowance for eighty-eight pages of text, yet all but the second could be spared for any value or freshness which they possess.

"Monsieur Olier" (1608-1657), by the Rev. James Bellord. (Price 1d.) A readable abridgment of an eventful life. All who care to know how St. Sulpice came into existence and what a mission lay before the great Parisian Seminary, will find the information they desire within the covers of this pamphlet and may be led to dive into the larger Life by Mr. Healy Thompson. There is a little obscurity in the passage at p. 25, where the writer says: "The light of the secular priesthood was not removed for a while from their candlestick, as once before by the Benedictines." In a cheap book intended for the multitude the remarks about seculars and religious might have been omitted with advantage. They remind one unnecessarily of painful paragraphs in a recent biography, and of the condemnation which the Holy Father utters in his letter to Cardinal Gibbons against certain erroneous views concerning the religious state.

"Protestant Fiction," by James Britten, K.S.G. IV. The Laity; V. Protestant Poets. Two numbers. (Price 1d. each.) The misrepresentations shown up in this series have their amusing as well as their serious side. The impossible, grotesque, absurd passages culled from Protestant fiction and poetry by Mr. Britten, will call forth many a peal of healthy laughter from Catholic readers, but there is a sad note running through these anti-Catholic blundering fabrications of clergymen, lawyers, military men, and women of social position. They tend to show how dense is the cloud of ignorance in which many of our non-Catholic fellow countrymen are still enveloped, and how earnest must be our efforts to dispel it by prayer and by the diffusion of sound literature. We heartily recommend these little books by Mr. Britten. They deserve to be widely known.

The Catholic's Library of Tales: No. 30. "A Lifelong Battle," by the Rev. G. Bampffield, B.A. (Price 1d.) The author, who himself has fought a lifelong battle for Catholic education and the evangelisation of North London, sets before us in this story the evil consequences so often attending mixed marriages. The tale is not overdrawn. There is no preaching. Causes work their own effects under the eyes of the reader. The moral is all the more effective. Our

Convent schools might do worse than present a copy of a "Lifelong Battle" to each of their pupils. The style possesses all the scholarly finish and the restraint which mark all the productions of the venerable writer.

"Ex-Convict Widdows and *Truth*: The Protestant Cause Defiled." (6d. per hundred.) This leaflet is made up of paragraphs taken from *Truth* of February 16, 1899. Frederick George Widdows and the Acton School Board do not look enviable under the Laboucherean search-light.

"Dr. Horton and Rome," by James Britten, K.S.G. (1s. per hundred.) A four-page pamphlet supplementary to "Dr. Horton and Catholic Truthfulness," "The Methods of a Protestant Controversialist," and "Are Catholics allowed to Lie?"

"The Analogy between the Mysteries of Nature and of Grace," by Cardinal Newman. (Price 1d.) This beautiful sermon taken from "Discourses to Mixed Congregations," has been brought within the reach of the poorest owing to the initiative of the Catholic Truth Society.

"The Public Spirit of the Catholic Laity." An address delivered at the Catholic Reunion of Birmingham, January 16, 1899. By the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport. (Price 1d.) This is a valuable contribution to that literature which deals with the "Duties of Christian Citizenship." The learned lecturer begins by stating that "most of the evil that has fallen upon the Church during the course of her earthly pilgrimage lies at the door of a base and selfish laity." A masterly analysis and scathing rebuke of worldliness ends with the Pope's words, "it is quite certain that the prevailing scoundrelism on the Continent would have succeeded worse and destroyed far less had the faith of the majority been of a more *robust* description." The Bishop proceeds to lay down two principles continually insisted on by the Holy Father. Catholic laymen should recognise that the Church stands on the same footing as—not to say a higher footing than—a man's own country; in their exertions on behalf of the Church, the laity should take their direction from the pastorate of the Church. These maxims pre-supposed, the bishop enumerates five departments in which a layman may be called upon to help in the good cause of religion. The first is called the Priest; the second, the Board; the third, the Club; the fourth, the Press; the fifth, the Purse. All these departments are fully dealt with. The whole paper seriously studied is calculated to reinforce and stimulate Catholic thought, Catholic views, and Catholic life.

G. H.

Loreto: The New Nazareth. By WILLIAM GARRATT. 267 pages.
Published by Art and Book Company.

IN this book, written to celebrate the sixth centenary of the translation of the holy house to its present resting-place at Loreto, the author gives us a very interesting and careful account of the history attaching to the holy house of Nazareth, both to that part of it which is now in Italy on the borders of the Adriatic, and that which is still venerated at Nazareth, consisting as it does of a cave in the rock.

From earliest times great veneration has been paid to this holy place, and while the holy sepulchre itself and the stable or cave of the nativity were polluted by erections to heathen deities, the dwelling at Nazareth was preserved and retained the altar said to have been erected by St. Peter. It was owing to St. Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, that the devotion became so widespread. She erected over the holy house and the cave which formed the rear of the dwelling a magnificent basilica, these sacred places becoming thus the crypt of the cathedral.

Pilgrimages were comparatively easy till the Holy Land came under the power of Islam rulers, when it became necessary to institute the Order of Knights of St. Catherine to protect the pilgrims.

For many years the Crusaders fought valiantly to protect the holy places, till in 1291 the last Christian possession, Acre, fell into Mahommedan hands, the monks of Mount Carmel were massacred, and the Templars in despair asked themselves if "God intended to allow the sanctuary of Nazareth to be turned into a mosque." Events proved their fears to be unfounded.

In 1291 on a hill called Tersatto, on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, some woodmen found a small stone building absolutely strange to them. On opening the door they found themselves opposite an altar with a figure of the Virgin in carved cedar, and a large wooden crucifix on the wall, while to their surprise some common eating vessels were found in a cupboard of the supposed chapel, also what seemed to be the blackened fireplace of a family habitation.

At the desire of Pope Boniface sixteen delegates were sent to Palestine to examine into the proofs of identity of this marvellous dwelling with that of the holy chamber in the basilica at Nazareth.

On their way they visited Fiume and found the inhabitants bemoaning their loss and convinced of its authenticity. The deputation returned no less convinced, bearing with them stones from Nazareth,

which were found to be the same peculiar form of limestone as that of which the holy house at Loreto was formed, and of which there is none in that part of Italy, while the mortar is of the kind used in Palestine

The facts of its having no foundations and its being situated in the midst of a public road are proofs that it cannot be, as has been suggested, a commemorative chapel.

Cardinal Bartolini says :

The inhabitants of Nazareth have always held and still hold as true the miraculous translation of the hallowed chamber, and still point out the site it occupied, while the inhabitants of Tersatto own the shrine they possess to be merely an imitation. The marble casing which now surrounds the Casa Santa is a great work of art, designed by Bramante.

Ten prophets and ten sybils who foretold the conception of the Virgin Mother are grouped two and two round the holy place of the incarnation ; next to each seer is set forth a mystery. All is the work of great and renowned sculptors, who gave their services for the glory of God and love of the Virgin Mother.

Owing to the many and very valuable offerings and *ex votos*, a treasury was erected in 1612 to contain them all, and to this day, in spite of the ravages of the French Revolution, the amount of treasures is enormous.

The basilica itself was completed in 1538, but it was begun or was even in course of erection as early as 1362. It contains numerous chapels ; in most of them are beautiful mosaic brought from the Vatican, while the dome is covered with paintings representing the titles of the blessed Virgin drawn from the litany of Loreto, and the whole building is rich with the works of most renowned hands.

The author quotes many ancient and reliable authorities as to the authenticity of the holy house and the miracles which have occurred there, but these it would take too much space to enumerate.

The work contains many very interesting illustrations, and concludes with an account of the "universal congregation," by which devotion to Our Lady of Loreto has been greatly spread, together with an apostolic letter from his Holiness on the occasion of the sixth centenary of the translation of the holy house to Loreto.

M. C.

The Age of Charlemagne. By CHARLES L. WELLS, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Minnesota. T. & T. Clark. 8vo, 470 pp.

THE series to which this book belongs, "Eras of the Christian Church," and the name of its publishers, leads one to expect to find in it a severely Protestant standpoint. As a fact there is no doubt much in it with which a Catholic may find fault. For instance, the sketch of the "origin of the Papacy" in the third chapter is lamentably absurd. It is summed up in the sentence (p. 24):

We may fairly say that the Papacy, as the special position and influence of the Bishop of Rome is called, owes its real origin to the three great popes of the fourth century—Innocent, Celestine and Leo—and to the greater one at the close of the sixth century—Gregory the Great.

Apart from the statement that Innocent, Celestine and Leo lived in the fourth century, which one must admit to be new, the view is a familiar one, based apparently on total ignorance of the acts and writings of all the other popes of the fourth and fifth centuries.

But, on the other hand, Dr. Wells always intends to be absolutely fair and impartial; and he very often conspicuously succeeds. His account of the "Forged Decretals" is excellent and unexceptionable. In general history his view seems to depend to some extent on the authority he happens to be following. He has consulted most of the important modern authors who have dealt with the period, and also many who are not important, and he appears to have carefully avoided all original authorities, excepting such obvious ones as Eginhard. The result is a brightly written and readable sketch of a most interesting period, containing no particularly grave errors of fact or of view, and without any pretensions to supplying an addition to our knowledge of the time, or to be an original study of the life, politics or manners of the eighth century. We might, however, have expected more from an university professor of history, and we trust that he encourages his pupils to go deeper into matters than he does himself. To criticise the views laid down in such a compilation would obviously be waste of time. We should suggest, however, that the works of Père Lapôte would be a valuable addition to the authorities for the history of the ninth century; that St. Peter Damian did not live in any of the centuries preceding Hildebrand (p. 422); that "*eleemosyna extinguit peccatum*" is not a mere superstitious saying invented by the clergy (p. 45), but is to be found in Ecclesiasticus. We are told that Louis the Pious performing ecclesiastical penance

for his cruelty was "not an edifying spectacle" (p. 388). Dr. Wells' account and estimation of Adoptianism is written from a Nestorian point of view, owing to his use of Dorner. The theological question involved he has failed to grasp.

J.

Fantasies from Dreamland. By ERNEST GILLIAT SMITH. Illustrated by FLORI VAN ACKER. London: Elkin Mathews. 1899. Price 4s.

MR. E. GILLIAT SMITH is already known to many of our readers as the author of a metrical version of the poems of Prudentius. And we may suppose that the welcome accorded to his work as a translator has encouraged him to tread in the footsteps of his master, and celebrate the saints in songs of his own. We have it on high authority that the great art of letter writing is to stop short, so that the reader wishes there was more. It is probably on the same principle that our author has limited his present volume to two poems of moderate length. The title of the book has a more literal meaning than the reader might at first suppose; for not only are the fantasies drawn from the poet's "airy realm of dreams," but both the poems treat of visions seen by sleepers.

The first of these poems, "St. Dunstan's Dream," tells us a legend found in Eadmer and other monastic writers. The saint is waiting, robed for Pontifical Mass, while King Edgar is hunting. Falling asleep, he hears high mass sung in heaven, and when he is awakened by the return of the royal hunting party, he gives this as a reason for refusing to offer the Holy Sacrifice himself. The king has to be content with an admonition:

"See to it, sire," quoth he, "that even thou
Hunt not again on Sunday morn till thou has first heard mass."

In the second poem, "A Legend for the Little Ones," we find ourselves carried on to the days of the Norman kings; but St. Dunstan, though he is now dead, is still the central figure, and is once more occupied with sleep and dreaming. The story opens at the Saint's shrine at Canterbury, and we are shown

Twenty little pinched up urchins
From St. Austen's Abbey school,
Red-eyed, pale-faced, downcast, silent,
Pressing on to Dunstan's tomb.

The source of their trouble is certainly singular. They are all to be

flogged next day, not for any fault, but according to a highly reprehensible custom prevailing in the school. The plaintive prayer of their spokesman little Bruno, his sorrow in the night, his vision of St. Dunstan, the terrors of the scene of execution, and the final deliverance of the "trembling tearful urchins"—all this is told by the poet in simple, tender, and picturesque language. And the reader leaves it with a hope that this may not be the last of Mr. Gilliat Smith's monastic legends.

As may be seen from the lines we have cited, the two poems are written in different metres, and are both without rhyme. It is a somewhat delicate question of taste, but we venture to regret the author's preference for blank verse. We cannot but think that in English poems of this character, particularly in the metres here adopted, the added grace of rhyme is a distinct advantage. And we fancy that there is a large class of English readers—especially among children—who cannot readily appreciate the beauties of rhymeless poetry. This consideration may well have weight with the author of "A Legend for the Little Ones" when next he sings "for boys and maidens."

We cannot leave the volume without adding a word of praise for the illustrations, which are well worthy of the subject and of the poetry. As a work of art, the book reflects great credit on the Belgian "Press of St. Augustine."

W. H. K.

Biblische Studien. III. Band 2. Heft. Nochmals der Biblische Schöpfungsbericht. Von FR. v. HUMMELAUER, S.J. Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder. 8vo. Pp. 132. Price, 2.80 m.

THE series of Biblical Studies, which is being published under the editorship of Dr. Otto Bardenhewer, embraces a wide range of very various subjects. It will be enough to mention such topics as "The Name of Mary," "The Age of Mankind," "Prophetical Inspiration," and "The Metre of the Book of Job," which are conspicuous among the contents of the first two volumes, and the essay on "The Site of Mount Sion," which was noticed in a recent number of this REVIEW. The present paper, the second instalment of the third volume, is a dissertation on the Hexaemeron by Fr. Hummelauer, S.J., the author of an esteemed commentary on the Book of Genesis. The writer is already known as a champion of the vision theory, which he maintained some twenty years since in the "Stimmen aus

[No. 31 of Fourth Series.]

P

Maria Laach," and more recently in the pages of the aforesaid commentary.

In the book before us the whole subject of the Days of Creation is treated at length, with great care and thoroughness, and amazing freshness and vigour. The text of the opening chapter of Genesis is first studied and expounded, verse by verse, without any reference to scientific difficulties. The writer then goes on to describe the main objections drawn from modern science, and passes in review the various and conflicting systems which have been devised as a solution of the problem. The number of these systems, as he quaintly says, looks as if they had somehow participated in the original blessing, "increase and multiply." And the author has after all to acknowledge that yet another variety has made its appearance in a theological Quarterly, which reached him too late for due consideration in the present volume.

After setting forth the various systems according to the very clear classification adopted by Dr. Gutberlet, Fr. Hummelauer proceeds to point out their shortcomings with a ruthless hand. And besides the particular difficulties or contradictions which he finds in each system severally, there is one common reproach to which, as he considers, all of them are open; to wit, they are the outcome of fear: "*diese Versuche leiden alle an einem gemeinen Gebrechen, sie sind Ausgeburten der Furcht*" (p. 94). We should never have heard of them, he adds, were it not for the discoveries of geologists. And he leads his readers to a study of the sacred text itself, in order to find a satisfactory solution, and keep Scripture exegesis independent of the momentary moods and changes of profane sciences.

We cannot think this language well warranted. And if we must admit that some, at least, of the aforesaid systems owe their existence to difficulties drawn from scientific discovery, we had rather use some less invidious term than fear. A change made in such matters in deference to physical science need not be regarded as a surrender to enemies. It is rather a case of receiving aid from a friendly quarter. And, if we are not mistaken, it is impossible to settle these questions entirely within the domain of exegetics and textual criticism, without paying attention to what is being done elsewhere. To understand the sacred text in any sense needs some knowledge of nature, however loose, imperfect, and popular. And the commentator is necessarily guided by such common natural science in deciding whether a text is to be taken literally or no. Why may not a fuller and more accurate knowledge of nature lend us fresh light on such questions? We are, moreover, by no means sure that all the theories rejected by our

author are entirely due to recent discoveries in geology. On the other hand, it does not seem to us that the new vision hypothesis is so much the outcome of pure textual criticism as the author supposes. According to this view, the first chapter of Genesis does but describe a vision wherein the creation of the world was shown to Adam as the work of six days. It may be admitted that this is an ingenious and plausible hypothesis. It will probably take a permanent place among the allowable explanations of the Hexaemeron. And if it be not the best, it is certainly not the worst of the existing theories. But we cannot see that it is set on a different level, or that it has firmer foundations, or offers greater advantages than some of the other systems.

The book, let us add, has a high value, quite apart from the merits of the particular system advocated by the author. For Fr. Hummelauer has thrown no little light on the text of the Hexaemeron; while his vigorous criticisms of the other systems, and his somewhat exuberant description of the advantages of his own, afford some very lively and not unprofitable reading.

W. H. K.

A Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of St. Ephraem the Syrian. By the Rev. J. HAMLYN HILL, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

IN the year 1836 the Mechitarist Fathers of St. Lazzaro, Venice, published an Armenian edition of St. Ephraem's works, including a commentary on the Gospel narrative. This commentary was translated into Latin by Dr. Moesinger of Salzburg in 1876, and forms the subject of the volume before us. Dr. Hill, some years ago, published a translation of the Arabic version of Tatian's Diatessaron; and the point which he sets himself to show in the present work is that St. Ephraem is really the author of the commentary translated into Latin by Dr. Moesinger, and that it is based upon the Diatessaron of Tatian.

That St. Ephraem was the author of this commentary does not seem to admit of a doubt. For not only is it clear from the testimony of early writers that St. Ephraem did write such a commentary, following the order of Tatian's Diatessaron, but, moreover, this work closely resembles in style St. Ephraem's commentaries on the Old Testament. Then, "Syriac forms of expression abound in the Armenian version, showing that it is really a translation from that language, and that the translator, in his anxiety to preserve the

meaning of his author, has been too literal in his rendering." Moreover, some citations from the Old Testament are made according to the peculiar renderings of the Syriac versions; and quotations from St. Ephraem in some early Syriac writers are found in this alone of his works. These, among other arguments, make it clear that this gospel commentary is rightly placed among St. Ephraem's works.

Nor is it less evident that the work on which it was based was Tatian's Harmony. Bar-Salibi (A.D. 1207) says that Tatian's Diatessaron began with the words "In the beginning was the Word." So did the work on which our commentary was based. The genealogies are wanting in the present work, as Theodoret says they were in Tatian. The Curetonian Syriac is followed in the Gospel narrative used by the writer of our commentary, not the later Peschito. Finally the commentator passes from one Gospel to another, showing that his remarks are based upon a gospel Harmony.* But no other work of such a character and so early a date is known except Tatian's.

Obviously, therefore, by selecting the quotations from the Gospels contained in the commentary something can be done to reconstruct the Diatessaron of Tatian. But there is a considerable difficulty over the order of the texts. For they cannot be arranged consecutively as they occur, owing to the fact that St. Ephraem often introduces texts from one part of the Gospel by way of illustrating passages in another part. Excluding texts used in this way however, there is little reason to doubt that the remainder are in the order in which they occurred in the Diatessaron. Of course the question still remains, how much of the Diatessaron did St. Ephraem pass over unnoticed?

In 1881 Professor Zahn of Erlangen published an edition of the quotations from the Gospels contained in this work, supplying the gaps by inference and conjecture. In 1888 Ciasca's edition of the Arabic version of the Diatessaron appeared at Rome. It turned out on comparison that "the Table of Contents implied in the Armenian Commentary as approximately reconstructed by Zahn agrees almost entirely with the order of Ciasca's Arabic Harmony," though this order often differs from what we should have expected.

The Armenian version of the Diatessaron is important as preserving an older form of text than the Arabic; for many changes had been introduced into the text of the Diatessaron between the time of St. Ephraem and the Arabic translation, no doubt with a view to bringing it into conformity with the current Syriac version of the Gospels.

* Sometimes his quotations are a blend of parallel passages in the Gospels.

Still the text used by St. Ephraem was not the original: and how far it differed from the original text of Tatian we do not know.

In this work Dr. Hill furnishes a translation into English of Dr. Moesinger's Latin. But our author has not confined himself to the Latin version of the Gospel quotations. Mr. Armitage Robinson has carefully compared for him Dr. Moesinger's translation with the Armenian original; and in this way many inaccuracies have been removed. It may be taken that where the English differs from the Latin, the English is more correct, and nearer to the text of St. Ephraem.

The importance of the Diatessaron in the study of the Gospels is known to all. The Armenian commentary on the Gospels is an important witness to the text of Tatian's work. Dr. Hill is to be congratulated upon bringing the material part of that work within reach even of readers who do not know Latin. The work, however, will prove interesting to other students as presenting us with a more accurate translation of the Armenian Gospel text than does the Latin version.

J. A. H.

St. Luke (Abridged Edition). By the Right Rev. MGR. WARD.
London: Catholic Truth Society. 1898. Pp. 191.

MGR. WARD has done well to bring out an abridged edition of his Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel. For it is decidedly desirable that Catholics, not having the leisure for an exhaustive study of the Gospels, but still anxious to acquire some insight into the Gospel text, should not be compelled to have recourse to non-Catholic works. It is also important that Catholic boys should imbibe their knowledge of the Bible from Catholic sources, and not grow up with the idea that if they wish to study sacred Scripture, they must seek help from outside.

With Mgr. Ward's further idea, that the abridged St. Luke may form a class text-book, whilst the teacher uses the larger work, we cannot profess ourselves deeply in love. It is certainly to be hoped and expected that the Bible teachers in our colleges will be men on a higher level of scholarship than to conduct their classes on the lines suggested by the above idea. No doubt they will find Mgr. Ward's St. Luke well worthy of attention. But it will not justify them in neglecting the study of such works as Knabenbauer, nor in passing over the commentaries of non-Catholic writers like Plummer, and the rest.

Mgr. Ward's abridged edition obviously does not aim at entering at length into questions of criticism or general scholarship. Questions

relating to the text are very properly passed over. But the usual introductory subjects are clearly and concisely stated, whilst obscure and difficult passages in the Gospel are elucidated by brief notes. The map of Palestine, at the beginning of the volume, will prove useful for reference in following the journeys of Our Lord and other geographical allusions.

J. A. H.

The Constitutional Authority of Bishops. By A. T. WIRGMAN, D.D., D.C.L. Longmans. 1899. Price 6s.

THIS is a singular book. The writer differs from almost all Anglicans on several points which they feel important to maintain in defence of their ecclesiastical position. He thinks the position so dear to Anglican writers, that the Bishop of Rome did not preside at the Council of Nice through Hosius and the two legates, quite untenable, and stoutly maintains that the fact that the Nicene Canons do not speak of the institution of the "Primatial authority," which is the burden of his work, is no sufficient argument against its existence in the Church. In this he follows Bishop Beveridge. By Primatial authority Dr. Wirgman means the authority of Bishops set over Metropolitans; in fact, Patriarchs, as they were called afterwards. He considered the Patriarchal system "necessary to Church unity" (p. 46). So that the authority of the Anglican bishops is on this ground unconstitutional. It is difficult to make out what exactly Dr. Wirgman thinks of the violation of the Church's constitution, or how much violation there may be without a forfeiture of the divine promises. It seems that, according to our author, the present state of things in the Anglican communion is simply unscriptural (p. 19). It would apparently be righted by the assumption of Patriarchal authority on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury over various provinces into which Anglican "bishops" have (if the truth must be spoken) intruded themselves on the ground that the British flag flies over the district, or because some well-meaning missionary has invaded ground already mapped out into dioceses by the authorities at Rome. It is also exceedingly difficult to see what Dr. Wirgman really understands by honorary precedence. The Primacy of the Bishop of Rome over the whole of Christendom, which he maintains, and appears in one place (p. 25), though not in others, to derive from St. Peter's position in Holy Scripture, includes, at any rate in his judgment, the right to preside at a General Council, and also a certain right of hearing appeals. But in spite of this he is careful to deny any jurisdiction beyond what would flow from a pre-

eminence of honour to the Bishop of Rome. On the other hand, when Dr. Wirgman speaks of the Primacy, the patriarchal Primacy, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he welcomes the fact that the twentieth canon of the communion to which he himself belongs in South Africa, "commits the trial of the Archbishop of Capetown, in a matter of faith, doctrine, or discipline, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishops selected by him" (p. 271). If this is involved in Primacy, one would have thought that the trial of the Archbishop of Canterbury himself "in a matter of faith, doctrine, or discipline," would be committed to the Primate of Christendom, the name which Dr. Wirgman applies to the Bishop of Rome. But somehow, the Primate of Christendom has to content himself with an area of jurisdiction exclusive of Africa, India, Canada, and, we presume, Egypt, all these countries coming under the patriarchate of Canterbury. In the course of his inquiries, Dr. Wirgman sets aside some of the pet arguments of Dr. Bright and Mr. Puller. But although he often plays into the hands of the Catholic controversialist, he is fond of rounding off his sentences with a *caveat* to the effect that his admissions do not involve the acceptance of what he calls Papal "despotism." Speaking of St. Clement's letter to the Church of Corinth, he says, "we need not minimise the Primatial position of the writer of this letter," which, by the way, must have extended into the domain of St. John, "or the authoritative tone of the letter itself, in order to guard against the assumptions of the Vatican Decrees. There is no trace in St. Clement's letter that he claimed to inherit St. Peter's Apostolic Primacy" (p. 60). And yet he considers St. Peter to have been Primate, and the See of Rome to be *Cathedra Petri* (p. 64). But on p. 63, Dr. Wirgman says very truly that "the fact that St. Clement does not call himself Bishop of Rome is no argument against his being so," a statement which might as well have been remembered in speaking of St. Clement's *Petri privilegium* on p. 60. Dr. Wirgman professes in one place that he is not concerned with "anti-Papal arguments" (p. 45). But they seem to be ever present in his mind and slip out perpetually. He seems to consider that "Papalists" have no standing on the platform of "history." And yet Dr. Wirgman when arguing against Papalism, can altogether mis-state the Paschal controversy in St. Victor's time. He imagines that the matter then mooted was not settled until the Council of Nicæa, in spite of the learned disquisitions of Duchesne, showing that by A.D. 325 the quarrel of the second century had been set at rest by the submission of the Asiatics or their exodus from the Church. He can, too, go so far as to speak of St. Irenæus "bidding" St. Victor "not to cut off whole Churches," when the word in Eusebius is "exhorts" or "advises"

(παραιεῖ). But it is in his account of the Councils of 381, 431, and 451 that Dr. Wirgman is most unsatisfactory. He has completely misunderstood, indeed mistranslated, the second canon of Constantinople in 381, understanding the "bishops of the East" to be "the Patriarchs," as he calls them, of Constantinople, and he consequently has to translate the following words as though they spoke of a separate "diocese," whereas the canon is speaking of the bishops of the so-called "Eastern" diocese, or group of provinces—*i.e.*, of Antioch, and of their metropolitical See as that of the city of Antioch. And Dr. Wirgman strangely imagines that by that second canon the "diocese" of Thrace was transferred to Constantinople "because its former Primatial See, Heraclea . . . is not mentioned" (p. 257). But neither is Ephesus mentioned as the capital of the "diocese" of Asia; and yet we know that Ephesus was not under Constantinople, as may be seen from the discussions at the eleventh session of the Council of Constantinople. This whole subject is dealt with by the present writer in his new book on "The Roman Primacy, 430-451," pp. 318-335. One other point may be mentioned in connection with the Council of Chalcedon. St. Leo writes concerning his tome, that he rejoices that "quod prius a prima omnium sede firmatum, totius Christiani orbis recepisset," on which Dr. Wirgman remarks, "He thus, as Du Pin observes, expresses his joy that his judgment had been confirmed (*sic*) by an Œcumenical Synod." St. Leo says that the tome was "*confirmed* by the first See," and "*received*" by the Christian world—a very different thing. Dr. Wirgman expresses quite an extraordinary opinion of Du Pin. He says, "The loyalty of the eminent canonist, Du Pin, to the See of Rome is beyond dispute" (p. 90). He has evidently not read Du Pin's life, nor Bossuet's brilliant and, in places, contemptuous refutation of Du Pin on the Councils of the Church. Dr. Pusey was similarly, and indeed quite ludicrously, deluded as to Du Pin's position. In conclusion, in spite of the many statements in Dr. Wirgman's book which we cannot accept as historical, we cannot help expressing a certain satisfaction at the sight of a writer of Dr. Wirgman's communion entering upon the subject of constitutional authority with so much zest and kindliness of tone.

L. R.

[The above is, we believe, the last production from the active and zealous pen of the late Dr. Rivington, to whose contributions this REVIEW has been so often and so much indebted during the last ten years.—R. I. P.—The EDITOR.]

Life of Mother Mary Teresa, Foundress of the Congregation of the Adoration of Reparation. By MGR. D'HULST, Rector of the Parisian Catholic Institute. Translated from the French by LADY HERBERT. London and Leamington: Art and Book Co. 1899.

THE holy personage here commemorated was the foundress of what is known as *L'Adoration Réparatrice*, one House of which was recently established in London, at 38, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Mother Mary Teresa was a native of Montauban, born in 1809; but she did not pass more than the first few months of her existence in that stronghold of French Protestantism. Her father was in the civil service, and his various appointments took him to Melun, Mezières, and Orleans successively. Theodolinda Dubouché—for that was her name in the world—seems to have been always a strong character, with naturally pious inclinations, with a deep tincture of French sentiment and an artistic capacity which was carefully cultivated. Mgr. D'Hulst's narrative, though very pious and interesting, hardly lets us see the objective or natural side of the holy foundress's personality. The greater part of the book is really taken up with what she says about herself—with her humble estimate of her actions and dispositions, and the narration of her spiritual favours and her aspirations. The revolutionary disturbances of 1848 seem to have turned her piety and zeal in the direction of Reparation. She had already associated herself closely with the Carmelite Nuns of the Rue d'Enfer, and had received many spiritual privileges in prayer—among others, what she considered a "vision" of the Divine Face of our Saviour. In 1848, with the approbation of Archbishop Affre, she undertook the establishment of an Association of Reparation. A few months later, in the same year, she instituted, with the help of the Carmelite Nuns, a Carmelite "Third Order," with the same object. Finally, this "Order" became separated from the Carmelites, considerable Houses were founded in Paris and Lyons and the Holy See granted a Laudatory Brief in 1853. The Congregation was fortunate in securing the good offices of the illustrious Bishop of Carcassonne, Mgr. de la Bouillerie, and of a pious and influential lady, Madame de Caraman, who exerted herself strenuously in Rome to obtain the final approbation. This, however, was not given till 1865, two years after Mother Mary Teresa's death.

We are not furnished by the learned and pious biographer with any very clear idea of what there is specially characteristic (beyond the purpose of Reparation) in this Congregation, or how it differs—as we are told it does very considerably—from that of *Marie*

Réparatrice, established in Rome, and at Harley House, London. A note at p. 150 invites us to "see at the end of this volume the complete organisation of this society" (the Auxiliary Sisters)—but neither of them nor of the main Congregation do we find any adequate description.

It is somewhat curious to speculate whether Mother Mary Teresa intended at one period of her life to adopt as the badge and standard of her Foundation the image of the adorable Face of our Lord as seen by her on February 25, 1847. It was round this Image—painted by herself—that the first Associates of the Reparation assembled. And Mgr. D'Hulst says: "From the vision of the Holy Face sprang the Congregation of the *Œuvre Réparatrice*" (p. 65). Be that as it may, the devotion to the Holy Face disappears from the narrative before the Approbation. The Holy See, in 1885, approved of the Arch-confraternity of the Holy Face, at Tours. But since then, ecclesiastical authority has made it clear that this approbation was not intended to cover that special and distinct *cultus* of the Holy Face which the Society of Priests named after it were trying to establish and propagate (see the *Ephemerides Liturgicæ* for November 1892).

N.

Le Prêtre, une Retraite Pastorale. Par L'ABBÉ PLANUS, Vicaire Général D'Autun, chanoine Honoraire de la Primatiale de Lyon. Troisième édition. Paris: Poussielgue, Rue Cassette, 15. 1898.

A FAIR or adequate idea of these admirable lectures cannot be had by merely reading them. It is only by the digestive process of lengthened meditation we can approach their value. Hence we can say but little about them, and that little with respectful caution. But what meets us at the first pages and accompanies us to the last is the aim of the author to leave the dignity, the majesty and the responsibility of the priesthood rooted deep and firm in the mind of the ecclesiastic who is so fortunate as to make the book his morning meditation manual. Beginning with the solemn admonitions to the bishops of the seven churches of Asia (Apoc. II.), he shows with cautious and elevated detail that these warnings are not a thing of the past, and that they will live as long as the defects that call for them. The synthetic idea of the priestly life follows, with its relations and surroundings of knowledge, of death, judgment, zeal, and *la dilection mutuelle*, which last might be well termed the golden chapter of the

work. The love of our Divine Lord, *Marie et le prêtre*, and the renewal of the early resolutions, bring this excellent work to a close. The priesthood in Paris, like its founder in Jerusalem, is roughly handled and spat upon by materialism and infidelity, and like its Divine Founder too, rises again into its native beauty under the triumphant vindication of brilliant defenders such as the Abbé Planus. For his leisure hour of reflection a priest could not have more sublime material, and though it is not all so practical as the *Meditations* of the saintly Chaignon, yet there is nothing in "*Le Prêtre*" but what a priest ought to know.

JN. M.

Handbook of Rules for Singing and Phrasing Plain Song.

By the Benedictines of Stanbrook. London: Art & Book Company. 1897. Pp. 22.

AN attempt is made in this little manual to facilitate the rendering of Gregorian chant. Brief, and for the most part simple, rules are laid down for singing and phrasing. There are also short chapters on the construction of the tones, on vocalisation, on the traditional notation, &c. Singers of any version of the chant may derive much profit from the attentive perusal of the directions here given; and in this sense we heartily recommend the pamphlet.

One or two inaccuracies have passed unobserved into the text, which the choirmaster can easily correct. For example, we are told at p. 3, that in Latin "*e* is equivalent to English *e* in *ever*, and that *æ* and *œ* are pronounced like *e*." At p. 6, after the enumeration of the notes of the scale, *do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, do*, it is said that "Each of these notes is taken as the tonic or key note of a *scale* of an octave, and thus we get eight *scales*." But it will be seen that in this way we only get seven scales, as the eighth is merely a repetition of the first on *do*.

Again the learner will wonder, when he comes to the next page, why it is that the eight ecclesiastical *modes* are formed on the notes *re, mi, fa, sol*, and that nothing is said about their fellows *la, si, do*. The French word "*vocalise*" on pp. 5 and 6 will puzzle the average chorister.

We find ourselves out of harmony with the spirit of the Preface where we read:

"We have had in view mainly those choirs which have adopted, or are desirous of adopting, the traditional chant in its original form, now represented by the Solesmes edition."

Those who are unacquainted with the Roman documents on the subject of the Liturgical chant during the past twenty-five years, might be led to the belief that the adoption of a particular version of the chant, traditional or otherwise, is purely a matter of personal taste or choice. The Preface goes on to refer to "*other editions*," and to "*the imperfect productions of modern times* (which) present difficulties which are unknown to the traditional melodies." (The italics are our own.)

Are we to suppose that the Roman and authorised edition of the chant is here somewhat unceremoniously bracketed among the "*other editions*"? If so, are we to describe for the edification of choir-masters and choir-boys the edition "*cura et auctoritate S.R.C. digestum Romæ*" as an "*imperfect production of modern times*"?

H. P.

Reviews in Brief.

Wayside Tales. By Lady HERBERT. Fifth Series. London: Catholic Truth Society. Pp. 160.—In the above we have a series of edifying tales from the pen of Lady Herbert, whose merits as a writer of Catholic stories is well known to all Catholic readers. The collection makes up a small book, which will be found both profitable and entertaining by the young, and is precisely of the kind which parents may usefully put into the hands of their children. A few more tales like the "Demon of Drink" might be a valuable element in our Catholic tract literature.

Les Sources. Par A. GRATRY, Prêtre de l'Oratoire. Deuxième édition. Paris, Ancienne Maison Douniol: Téqui, Libraire-Éditeur, 29 Rue de Tournon. 1898. Pp. 326.—Certain writings of Father Gratry, which had originally been published separately, are collected here in a single volume. Their author, or publisher, describes them as "counsels for the conduct of life." They treat of prayer, reading, faith, and many other subjects. Like all the writings of Father Gratry they are distinguished by that beauty of style which won for their author a membership in the French Academy. We are not sure, however, that the matter is as solid as the style is eloquent.

"Let no Man put Asunder." By JOSEPHINE MARIE. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. Price \$1.—This is a tale of moderate literary merit, but will probably have its value in school and parochial libraries. It is the story of a deception, wildly improbable indeed, but nobly borne. The heroine is cheated into a marriage with a man who basely betrays his own brother in order to win her hand. Discovering his treachery when too late, she remains firm and true to her engagements, and both win their way at last to peace and happiness. The object of the book is to show, what, indeed, is an unquestionable fact, that only the Catholic Church upholds consistently and constantly the indissolubility of a true marriage bond. The situations are somewhat impossible, the characters are wanting in reality, but we must not look too closely into the strict literary value of a book which may find willing readers of an uncritical cast of mind.

Poems. By EVA GORE BOOTH. Published by Messrs. Longmans and Co. Price 5s.—This collection of poems manifests receptiveness rather than originality. There is in it the flavour of many different streams at which the poet has tasted. One poem in particular, "La mort est le baiser de Dieu," contains, in a very few lines, marked reminiscences of both Tennyson and Matthew Arnold. But the power of appreciation and assimilation is by no means despicable, and may sometimes be a step towards the production, later on, of more individual work. One or two of the themes chosen give us hope that this may be the case.

Perhaps the one entitled "A Traitor" is among the best in the volume, and next to that the "Song of the Fair Exile," a lament of the bright Scottish Queen, who lived like a captive in the midst of hard, unbending State, and yearned for the brighter land she had left.

Gold fetters bind my hands and feet,
Men bow before me very low,
And soldiers stand behind my seat,
They follow me where'er I go.
My friends take such unceasing care
To save me from each evil chance,
I often think in blank despair
I'll never get to heaven or France!

The Cup of the Tregarvans. By FRANCES I. KERSHAW. London: R. Washbourne. 8vo, pp. 144. In the above work we have a temperance tale gracefully told. The evils of mixed marriages as well as those of intemperance are skilfully depicted, and the lessons inculcated are of a kind which will be useful to the Catholic youth of these countries. We think that Miss Kershaw would have considerably strengthened her work by keeping to the end within the lines of ordinary life with its abundant pathos, and not to have yielded to the temptation of creating a dramatic or stagey *denouement*. Father Ashton is somewhat unreal, and speaks as if he had stepped out of Challenor's "Meditations" or the "Garden of the Soul."

M.

La Perfection Religieuse d'après Saint François de Sales. Par L'ABBE J. MARTIN. Revetu de l'approbation de Monseigneur l'Eveque de Nîmes. Paris: Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette. 1898. This is an excellent little book of sixty pages and is meant for the cloister. The aim all through is an earnest incentive to acquiring the perfection expected from those who have left all and followed Christ. The author keeps the writings of St. Francis de Sales as his sole

text-book continually before the meditante, with a view to impart a knowledge of his spirit, and a stimulus thereby to acquire the sought-for perfection on the Saint's lines. The paper is good and the type excellent, and we believe it will be a valuable companion in conventual life.

Jno. M.

A College Boy. By ANTHONY HOPE. New York: Benziger Brothers.—Frank King, the college boy in question, is a delightful acquaintance to make, and we cordially introduce him to all our college boys on this side of the Atlantic. He will tell them all about Catholic college life in America—of his first fight, football, baseball and cricket matches and many other very pleasant—and unpleasant—adventures. The narrative is bright and brisk from cover to cover. Here is a specimen. Frank has a little sister, Beatrice, more familiarly known as "Trix." Her brother has been sent to college at the instance of Uncle George. "Trix" sorely misses her brother, and writes him a letter planning a scheme for his flight. In the course of this most original communication she "goes for" Uncle George:

I can't bear the sight of his picture in the parlour. I'd like to turn it to the wall. The other evening Mamma and I were reciting the litany together; when we came to the part, 'From all evil, deliver us, O Lord,' I said under my breath, 'From all uncles, deliver us, O Lord.' I was sorry afterwards, because I know it's not proper to add anything to the litany that isn't there, but still it's hard sometimes to restrain one's feelings.

A. G. O.

Lasca, and Other Stories. By MARY F. NIXON, Author of "With a Pessimist in Spain." Freiburg: B. Herder.—Thirteen short stories. All pithily and prettily written. They are of many lands. The writer is at home in them all and portrays with charming reality and effect the many characters and countries brought under our notice. Those familiar with the quaint and graphic stories of Fernand Caballero will find in "Lasca" much that recalls the pleasant and amusing impressions that the gifted Spanish writer never fails to convey. "Lasca and Other Stories" are not only amusing and pleasant, but they are edifying, and that in a manner which is certain to be welcome and attractive to those who may have the good sense to procure it.

Peasants in Exile: From the Polish of HENRYK SIENKIEWIEZ. By C. O'CONOR ECCLES. Notre Dame, Indiana.—A distressing and

disheartening story of emigrant life, presumably written for children. Lorenz Toporez, a Pole, and his bright and buoyant daughter, Marysia, leave their country to seek fortune in America. There nothing but misfortune awaits them, one following the other so rapidly as to drive Lorenzo to such a pitch of despair that he attempts the life of his child. He succumbs to privation, and Marysia becomes demented and her body is found in one of the docks of New York. It really seems a pity that a tale of so much woe should ever have been written, still greater pity that it should have been printed.

O.

Memories of Father Healy, of Little Bray. London: Macmillan and Co. 1899.—This is stated to be the fourth edition, or reprint, of these "Memories," which were originally published in 1895. It is a very pleasant book, not only for the numerous stories, anecdotes, and specimens of wit and humour, but even more for its picture of a genial Irish priest of the old school. "Good as his stories were," says Lord Wolseley of "dear Father James Healy," "he was himself as a man, as a friend, far better than any or all of them." Wit, which was Father Healy's strong point rather than humour, is difficult to perpetuate in print. But there is much that is exceedingly characteristic and entertaining. As we write, the news is published of the death of Dr. Nedley, the "last of the Irish humourists," a rival of Father Healy and one of his dearest friends.

N.

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